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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.

By the late
JONATHAN SWIFT,
D. D. D. S. P. D.

Published from the
Last MANUSCRIPT COPY, Corrected and
Enlarged by the Author's own HAND.

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THE HISTORY OF

THE UNITED STATES

OF AMERICA

FROM 1492 TO 1876

BY
JOHN P. FLETCHER
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILL. 1876

ADVERTISEMENT.

THUS, the long wished for HISTORY of the FOUR LAST YEARS of the QUEEN'S Reign is at length brought to light, in spite of all attempts to suppress it!

As this publication is not made under the sanction of the name or names, which the author and the world had a right to expect; it is fit some account of the work's appearing in this manner should be here given.

Long before the DEAN's apparent decline, some of his intimate friends, with concern, foresaw the impending fate of his fortune and his works. To this, it is owing, that these sheets, which the world now despaired of ever seeing, are rescued from obscurity, perhaps from destruction.

For this, the public is indebted to a gentleman, now in Ireland, of the greatest probity and worth, with whom the DEAN long lived in perfect intimacy. To this gentleman's hands the DEAN in-

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trusted

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trusted a copy of his History, desiring him to peruse and give his judgment of it, with the last corrections and amendments the author had given it, in his own hand.

His friend read, admired, and approved. And from a dread of so valuable and so interesting a work's being by any accident lost or effaced, as was probable by it's not being intended to be published in the author's life-time, he resolved to keep this copy, till the author should press him for it; but with a determined purpose, it should never see the light, while there was any hopes of the author's own copy being published, or even preserved.

This resolution, he inviolably kept, till he and the world had full assurance, that the DEAN's executors, or those into whose hands the original copy fell, were so far from intending to publish it, that it was actually suppressed, perhaps destroyed.

Then, he thought himself not only at liberty, but judged it his duty, to his departed friend, and to the public, to let this copy, which he had now kept many years most secretly, see the light.

Thus, it has at length fallen into the hands of a person, who publishes it for the satisfaction of the public, abstracted from all private regards; which
are

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are never to be permitted to come in competition with the common good.

Every judicious eye will see, that the author of these sheets wrote with strong passions, but with stronger prepossessions and prejudices in favour of a party. These, it may be imagined, the editor, in some measure, may have adopted, and published this work as a kind of support to that party, or some surviving remnant thereof.

It is but just to undeceive the reader, and inform him from what kind of hand he has received this work. A man may regard a good piece of painting; while he despises the subject: if the subject be ever so despicable, the masterly strokes of the painter may demand our admiration; while he, in other respects, is intitled to no portion of our regard.

In poetry, we carry our admiration still farther, and like the poet, while we actually condemn the man. Historians share the like fate: hence some, who have no regard to propriety or truth, are yet admired for diction, style, manner, and the like.

The editor considers this work in another light: he long knew the author, and was no stranger to his politics, connexions, tendencies, passions, and

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the whole economy of his life. He has long been hardly singular in condemning this great man's conduct, amidst the admiring multitude; nor ever could have thought of making an interest in a man, whose principles and manners he could, by no rule of reason and honour, approve, however he might have admired his parts and wit.

Such was judged the disposition of the man, whose History of the most interesting period of time in the annals of Britain, are now, herein, offered to the reader. He may well ask from what motives? The answer is easily, simply given:

The causes assigned for delaying the publication of this History were principally these; that the manuscript fell into the hands of men, who, whatever they might have been by the generality deemed, were by the DEAN believed to be of his party; though they did not, after his death, judge it prudent to avow his principles, more than to deny them in his life-time. These men, having got their beavers, tobacco-boxes, and other trifling remembrances of former friendship, by the DEAN's will, did not choose publicly to avow principles, that had marred their friend's promotion, and might probably put a stop to theirs: therefore, they gave the inquisitive world to understand, that there

there was something too strong against many great men, as well as the succeeding system of public affairs in general, in the DEAN's History of the four last years of the QUEEN's Reign, to admit of a publication, in our times: and, with this poor insinuation, excused themselves, and satisfied the weakly well-affected, in suppressing the manifestation of displeasing truths, of however great importance to society.

This manuscript has now fallen into the hands of a man, who never could associate with, or even approve any of the parties or factions, that have differently distracted, it might be said disgraced, these kingdoms; because, he has as yet known none, whose motives or rules of action were truth and the public good alone; of one, who judges, that perjured magistrates of all denominations, and their most exalted minions, may be exposed, deprived, or cut off, by the fundamental laws of his country; and who, upon these principles, from his heart, approves, and glories in, the virtues of his predecessors, who revived the true spirit of the British polity, in laying aside a priest-ridden, an hen-pecked, tyrannical tool, who had overturned the political constitution of his country, and in re-instituting the dissolved body politic, by a Revolution,

tion, supported by the laws of nature and the realm, as the only means of preserving the natural and legal, the civil and religious liberties of the members of the commonwealth.

Truth, in this man's estimation, can hurt no good cause. And falsehood and fraud, in religion and politics, are ever to be detected, to be exploded.

Insinuations, that this History contained something injurious to the present establishment, and therefore necessary to be suppressed, serve better the purposes of mistaken or insidious mal-content, than the real publication can. And, if any thing were by this or any other History to be shown essentially erroneous in our politics; who, that calls himself a Briton, can be deemed such an impious slave, as to conceal the destructive evil? The editor of this work disdains and abhors the servile thought; and wishes to live no longer, than he dare to think, speak, write, and, in all things, to act worthy of a Briton.

From this regard to truth and to his country, the editor of this History was glad of an opportunity of rescuing such a writing from those who meant to suppress it: the common cause, in his estimation, required and demanded it should be done;

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done; and the sooner it is published, be judged, the better: for, if the conduct of the Queen and her ministers does not deserve the obloquy that has been long indubitably cast upon it; what is more just than to vindicate it? What more reasonable, than that this should be done, while living witnesses may yet be called to prove or disprove the several allegations and assertions; since, in a few years more, such witnesses may be as much wanting, as to prevent a canonisation, which is therefore prudently procrastinated for above an age? Let us then coolly hear what is to be said on this side the question, and judge like Britons.

The editor would not be thought to justify the author of this History, in all points, or even to attempt to atquit him of unbecoming prejudices and partiality: Without being deeply versed in history or politics; he can see his author, in many instances, blinded with passions, that disgrace the historian, and blending with phrases, worthy of a Cæsar or a Cicero, expressions not to be justified by truth, reason, or common sense; yet think him a most powerful orator, and a great historian.

No unprejudiced person will blame the DEAN, for doing all that is consistent with truth and decency to vindicate the government of the QUEEN,
and

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and to exculpate the conduct of her ministers and her lost General; all good men would rejoice at such a vindication. But, if he meant no more than this, his work would ill deserve the title of an History. That he generally tells truths, and founds his most material assertions upon facts, will, I think, be found very evident. But there is room to suspect, that while he tells no more than the truth, he does not tell the whole truth. However, he makes it very clear that the QUEEN's allies, especially our worthy friends the Dutch, were much to blame for the now generally condemned conduct of the QUEEN, with regard to the prosecution of the war and the bringing about the peace.

The author's drawings of characters are confessedly partial: for he tells us openly, p. 10. he means not to give characters intire, but such parts of each man's particular passions, acquirements, and habits, as he was most likely to transfer into his political schemes. What writing, what sentence, what character can stand this torture?---- What extreme perversion may not, let me say, does not, this produce?---Yet thus does he choose to treat all men that were not favorers of the latest measures of the QUEEN, when the best that has been said

said for her, shews no more than that she was blind-folded and held in leading-strings by her ministers.

He does not spare a man, confessed by all the world to have discharged the duties of his function like a soldier, like an hero. But charges Prince EUGENE with raising and keeping up a most horrible mob, with intent to assassinate Harley. For all which odious charges, he offers not one individual point of proof.

He is not content with laying open again the many faults already publicly proved upon the late Duke of Marlborough, but insinuates a new crime, by seeming to attempt to acquit him of aspiring at the throne. But this is done in a manner peculiar to this author.

On the other hand, he extols the ministers and minions of the QUEEN in the highest terms; and while he robs their antagonists of every good quality, generally gives those wisdom and every virtue that can adorn human nature.

He is not ashamed to attempt to justify, what all thinking good men must condemn, the QUEEN's making twelve peers at once, to serve a particular turn.

*All these may be ascribed to the strength of his passions, and to the prejudices, early imbibed, in
favor*

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favor of his indulgent royal mistress and her favorites and servants. The judicious will look through the elegant cloathing, and dispassionately consider these as more human errors, to which no well-informed mind can assent. The editor thinks himself bound to protest against them.

He makes a few lapses on the other side, without being as clear as an impartial historian would choose to appear. He more than hints at the QUEEN's displeasure at it's being moved in parliament, that the Prince ELECTOR should be invited to reside in England, to whose crown he was by law declared Presumptive Heir. But is always open upon the QUEEN's insisting on the Pretender's being sent out of France.---It is easy to see how incompatible these things appear: Nothing could tend more to secure the Hanover succession, and to enlarge it's benefits to Britain, than the bringing over the successor, who should, in every country, be well instructed in the language, customs, manners, religion and laws of his future subjects, before he comes to hold the reins of government. And, our author does not take the proper care to inform us how far the French thought fit to comply with banishing the Pretender their dominions; since many still live in doubt,

that

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that if he was sent out of France, he was sent into England.

But there is one expression of our author too perverse, too grossly abused, to admit of any apology, of any palliation. It is not to be supposed, that he was ignorant of any word in the English language. And least of all can he be supposed ignorant of the meaning of a word, which had it been ever so doubtful before, had a certain meaning impressed upon it by the authority of parliament, of which no sensible subject can be ignorant.

Notwithstanding this, where our author speaks of the late King James, he calls him the abdicated King, and gives the same epithet even to his family. Though this weak, ill-advised, and ill-fated prince, in every sense of the word, with Romans and English, and to all intents and purposes, abdicated; yet can he, in no sense be called abdicated; unless the people's asserting their rights, and defending themselves against a king, who broke his compact with his subjects, and overturned their government, can be called abdication in them; which no man in his senses can be hardy enough to support upon any principle of reason or the laws of England. Let the reader judge which this is most likely to be, error or design.

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These exceptions, the editor thought himself bound to make to some parts of this work, to keep clear of the disagreeable imputations of being of a party, of whatsoever denomination, in opposition to truth and the rights and liberties of the subject.

These laid aside, the work will be found to have many beauties, many excellencies. Some have of late affected to depreciate this History, from an insinuation, made only since the author's death; to wit; that he was never admitted into the secrets of the administration, but made to believe he was a confidant, only to engage him in the list of the ministerial writers of that reign.

The falsehood of this will readily appear upon perusal of the work. This shews he knew the most secret springs of every movement in the whole complicated machine. That he states facts, too well known to be contested, in elegant simplicity, and reasons upon them with the talents of the greatest historian. And thus makes an history, composed rather of negotiations than actions, most entertaining, affecting and interesting, instead of being, as might be expected, heavy, dull and disagreeable.

It

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It is now fit to apologise for some errors, which the judicious must discover upon a perusal of this work. It is for this, among other reasons much to be lamented, that this History was not published under the author's own inspection. It is next to impossible to copy or print any work without faults, and most so, where the author's eye is wanting.

It is not to be imagined, that even our author, however accurate, however great, was yet strictly and perfectly correct in his writings. Yet, where some seeming inaccuracies in style or expression have been discovered, the deference due to the author made any alteration too presumptuous a task for the editor. These are therefore left to the amending hand of every sensible and polite reader, while the editor hopes it will suffice, that he should point out some of those errors which are to be ascribed either to transcribers or the press; and which may be rectified in the manner following, in reading the work.

Page Line

- | | | |
|------|-----|---|
| 4, | 23. | Dele a, before ministry. |
| 9, | 15. | Instead of <i>whereof</i> , read <i>thereof</i> , <i>whic^h</i> . |
| 11, | 21. | Dele <i>which</i> are. |
| 23, | 19. | For <i>makes</i> , r. <i>made</i> . |
| 46, | 9. | For <i>are</i> , r. <i>were</i> . |
| 61, | 4. | After <i>course</i> , add <i>of success</i> . |
| 100, | 7. | After <i>Britain</i> , add <i>and France</i> , |
| 102, | 15. | After <i>all</i> , add <i>such</i> . |
| 104, | 5. | For <i>our</i> , r. <i>their</i> . |

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Page Line

- 108, 22. After *transmitted*, add *the*, [= ? *them*]
- 118, 20. For *interest*, r. *interests*.
- 127, 16. For *Retablr*, r. *Retablr*.
- 136, 25. After *by*, add *the*.
- 144, 1. For *expecting*, r. *excepting*.
- 162, 8. For *to, here*, in p. 336, l. 10. in the like *pass* elsewhere, r. *at*.
- 180, 15. For *never*, r. *over*.
- 215, 5. For *tenders*, r. *repdats*.
- 221, 1. After *been*, add *passed*.
- 222, 18. For *few*, r. *new*.
- 230, 3. After *resigning*, dele *up*.
- 237, 14. *to*, add *by*.
- 238, 5. After *commissioners*, add *to examine*.
- 265, 23. For *that*, r. *the*.
- 276, 14. For *upon*, r. *in*.
- 289, 22. For *would*, r. *could*.
- 290, 4. For *enany*, r. *enany*.
- 298, 8. After *desiring*, add *him*.
- 327, 12. For *minister*, r. *ministers*.
- 332, 18. For *withdrow*, r. *withdraw*.
- 342, 14. After *enany*, add *of*.
- 342, 15. After *measures*, add *might*.
- 350, 2. 3. For *intentionions*, r. *intensions*.
- 355, 21. After *which*, add *could*.
- 356, 12. After *take*, add *it*.
- 368, 21. After *think*, add *fit*.
- 373, 18. Dele *own*, before *parliament*.

And thus, with these and perhaps some few such like corrections, which the editor might have overlooked, it is hoped this work will be found compleatly correct.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.

BOOK I.

I Propose to give the publick an account of the most important affairs at home, during the last session of parliament, as well as of our negotiations of peace abroad, not only during that period, but some time before and since. I shall relate the chief matters transacted by both houses in that session, and discover the designs carried

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on by the heads of a discontented party, not only against the ministry, but in some manner against the crown itself: I likewise shall state the debts of the nation, shew by what mismanagement and to serve what purposes they were at first contracted, by what negligence or corruption they have so prodigiously grown, and what methods have since been taken to provide not only for their payment, but to prevent the like mischief for the time to come. Although, in an age like ours, I can expect very few impartial readers, yet I shall strictly follow truth, or what reasonably appeared to me to be such, after the most impartial inquiries I could make, and the best opportunities of being informed by those who were the principal actors or advisers.

Neither shall I mingle panegyrick or satire with an history intended to inform posterity, as well as to instruct those of the present age, who may be ignorant or misled;

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 3

missed ; since facts, truly related, are the best applauses, or most lasting reproaches.

Discourses upon subjects relating to the publick, usually seem to be calculated for *London* only, and some few miles about it ; while the authors suppose their readers to be informed of several particulars, to which those that live remote are, for the generality, utter strangers. Most people who frequent this town acquire a sort of smattering (such as it is), which qualifies them for reading a pamphlet, and finding out what is meant by inuendoes or hints at facts or persons, initial letters of names, wherein gentlemen at a distance, although perhaps of much better understandings, are wholly in the dark : wherefore, that these memoirs may be rendered more generally intelligible and useful, it will be convenient to give the reader a short view of the state and disposition of affairs, when the last session of parliament began ; and because the party-leaders, who had lost their power and places,

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were,

were, upon that juncture, employing all their engines in an attempt to re-establish themselves, I shall venture one step further, and represent so much of their characters as may be supposed to have influenced their politics.

On the seventh day of *December*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, began the second session of parliament. It was now above a year since the Queen had thought fit to put the great offices of state, and of her own household, into other hands: however, three of the discontented lords were still in possession of their places; for the Duke of MARLBOROUGH continued general, the Duke of SOMERSET master of the horse, and the Earl of CHOLMONDELY treasurer of her Majesty's household: likewise great numbers of the same party still kept employments of value and importance, which had not been usual of late years, upon any changes of a ministry. The Queen, who judged the temper of her people by this house of
com-

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 5

commons, which a landed interest had freely chosen, found them very desirous of a secure and honourable peace, and disposed to leave the management of it to her own wisdom, and that of her own council: she had therefore, several months before the session began, sent to inform the States General of some overtures which had been made her by the enemy; and during that Summer her Majesty took several farther steps in that great affair, until at length, after many difficulties, a congress at *Utrecht* for a general peace was agreed upon; the whole proceedings of which previous negotiations, between our court and that of *France*, I shall, in its proper place, very particularly relate.

The nation was already upon a better foot, with respect to its debts; for the Earl of OXFORD, lord treasurer, had, in the preceding session, proposed and effected ways and means in the house of commons (where he was then a member), for providing a parliamentary fund to clear

the heavy arrear of ten millions (whereof the greatest part lay upon the navy), without any new burthen (at least after a very few years) to the kingdom; and at the same time he took care to prevent farther incumbrances upon that article, by finding ready money for naval provisions, which hath saved the public somewhat more than *cent. per cent.* in that mighty branch of our expences.

The clergy were altogether in the interests and the measures of the present ministry, which had appeared so boldly in their defence, during a prosecution against one of their members, where the whole Sacred Order was understood to be concerned. The zeal shewn for that most religious bill, to settle a fund for building fifty new churches in and about the city of *London*, was a fresh obligation; and they were farther highly gratified, by her Majesty's chusing one of their body to be a great officer of state*.

* Dr. ROBINSON, lord bishop of *Bristol*, to be lord privy-seal.

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By this time likewise all disputes about these principles, which used originally to divide Whig and Tory, were wholly dropped; and those fantastical words ought in justice to have been so too, provided we could have found out more convenient names, whereby to distinguish lovers of peace from lovers of war; or those who would leave her Majesty some degree of freedom in the choice of her ministers, from others who could not be satisfied with her chusing any, except such as she was most averse from: but where a nation is once divided, interest and animosity will keep open the breach, without being supported by any other principles; or, at worst, a body of discontented people can change, and take up what principles they please.

As to the disposition of the opposite party, we all remember, that the removal of the last ministry was brought about by several degrees; through which means it happened, that they and their friends

were hardly recovered out of one astonishment, before they fell into another. This scene lasted for some months, and was followed by a period of rage and despair, natural to those who reflect that they have lost a secure game by their own rashness, folly, and want of common management; when at the same time they knew, by experience, that a watchful and dexterous adversary lay ready to take the advantage. However, some time before the session, the heads of that party began to recollect themselves, and rally their forces, like an enemy who hath been beaten out of the field, but finds he is not pursued; for although the chiefs of this faction were thought to have but little esteem or friendship for each other, yet they perfectly agreed in one general end, of distressing, by all possible methods, the new administration; wherein if they could succeed, so far as to put the Queen under any great necessity, another parliament must be called; and perhaps the power

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 9

power devolve again into their own hands.

The issue and event of that grand confederacy appearing in both houses, although under a different form, upon the very first day the parliament met, I cannot better begin the relation of affairs, commencing from that period, than by a thorough detection of the whole intrigue, carried on with the greatest privacy and application, which must be acknowledged to have, for several days, disconcerted some of the ministry, as well as dispirited their friends; and the consequences ~~whereof~~ ^{of which} have, in reality, been so very pernicious to the kingdom.

But because the principal leaders in this design are the same persons to whom, since the loss of their power, all the opposition has been owing, which the court received either in treaties abroad, or the administration at home; it may not be improper to describe those qualities in each of them, which few of their admirers

ers will deny, and which appear chiefly to have influenced them in acting their several parts upon the publick stage; for I do not intend to draw their characters intricate, which would be tedious, and little to the purpose; but shall only single out those passions, acquirements, and habits, which the owners were most likely to transfer into their political schemes, and which were most subservient to the designs they seemed to have in view.

The Lord SOMMERS may very deservedly be reputed the head and oracle of that party: he hath raised himself, by the concurrence of many circumstances, to the greatest employments of the state, without the least support from birth or fortune: he hath constantly, and with great steadiness, cultivated those principles under which he grew. That accident which first produced him into the world, of pleading for the bishops, whom King JAMES had sent to the Tower, might have proved a piece of merit as honour-

honourable as it was fortunate ; , but the old republican spirit, which the Revolution had restored, began to teach other lessons ; that since we had accepted a new king from a calvinistical commonwealth, we must also admit new maxims in religion and government : but since the nobility and gentry would probably adhere to the established church, and to the rights of monarchy as delivered down from their ancestors ; it was the practice of those politicians to introduce such men as were perfectly indifferent to any or no religion, and who were not likely to inherit much loyalty from those to whom they owed their birth. Of this number was the person I am now describing. I have hardly known any man with talents more proper to acquire and preserve the favour of a prince, never offending in word or gesture, ~~which are~~ in the highest degree courteous and complaisant, wherein he set an excellent example to his colleagues, which they did not think fit

fit to follow ; but this extreme civility is universal and undistinguished, and in private conversation, where he observeth it as inviolably as if he were in the greatest assembly, it is sometimes censured as formal : two reasons are assigned for this behaviour ; first, from the consciousness of his humble original, he keepeth all familiarity at the utmost distance, which otherwise might be apt to intrude ; the second, that being sensible how subject he is to violent passions, he avoideth all incitements to them, by teaching those he converses with, from his own example, to keep a great way within the bounds of decency and respect ; and it is, indeed, true, that no man is more apt to take fire upon the least appearance of provocation, which temper he strives to subdue with the utmost violence upon himself : so that his breast has been seen to heave, and his eyes to sparkle with rage in those very moments, when his words, and the cadence of his voice, were in the humblest and softest manner ;

manner; perhaps that force upon his nature, may cause that insatiable love of revenge, which his detractors lay to his charge, who consequently reckon dissimulation among his chief perfections. Avarice he hath none; and his ambition is gratified, by being the uncontested head of his party: With an excellent understanding, adorned by all the polite parts of learning, he hath very little taste for conversation, to which he prefers the pleasure of reading and thinking; and in the intervals of his time amuseth himself with an illiterate chaplain, an humble companion, or a favourite servant.

These are some few distinguishing marks in the character of that person who now presideth over the discontented party; although he be not answerable for all their mistakes; and if his precepts had been more strictly followed, perhaps their power would not have been so easily shaken. I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging
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in that foolish prosecution of Dr. SACHEVEREL, as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin ; that he blamed the rough demeanour of some persons to the Queen, as a great failure in prudence ; and that when it appeared, her majesty was firmly resolved upon a treaty of peace ; he advised his friends not to oppose it in its progress, but find fault with it after it was made, which would be a copy of the like usage themselves had met with after the treaty of *Ryswick* ; and the safest, as well as the most probable way of disgracing the promoters and advisers. I have been the larger in representing to the reader some idea of this extraordinary genius, because whatever attempt hath hitherto been made with any appearance of conduct, or probability of success to restore the dominion of that party, was infallibly contrived by him ; and I prophecy the same for the future as long as his age and infirmities will leave him capable of business.

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The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's character hath been so variously drawn, and is indeed of so mixed a nature in itself, that it is hard to pronounce on either side without the suspicion of flattery or detraction.

I shall say nothing of his military accomplishments, which the opposite reports of his friends and enemies among the soldiers have rendered problematical: but if he be among those who delight in war, it is agreed to be, not for the reasons common with other generals. Those maligners who deny him personal valour, seem not to consider, that this accusation is charged at a venture; since the person of a wise general is too seldom exposed to form any judgment in the matter: and that fear, which is said to have sometimes disconcerted him before an action, might probably be more for his army than for himself. He was bred in the height of what is called the Tory principle, and continued with a strong bias that way, till the other party had bid higher for him than his friends could afford

ford to give. His want of literature is in some sort supplied by a good understanding, a degree of natural elocution, and that knowledge of the world which is learned in armies and courts. We are not to take the height of his ambition from his soliciting to be General for life: I am persuaded his chief motive was the pay and perquisites, by continuing the war; and that he had *then* no intentions of settling the crown in his family, his only son having been dead some years before. He is noted to be master of great temper, able to govern or very well to disguise his passions, which are all melted down or extinguished in his love of wealth. That liberality which nature has denied him, with respect of money, he makes up by a great profusion of promises; but this perfection, so necessary in courts, is not very successful in camps among foldiers, who are not refined enough to understand or to relish it.

His wife the Dutchess may justly challenge her place in this list. It is to her

the Duke is chiefly indebted for his greatness and his fall ; for above twenty years he possessed, without a rival, the favours of the most indulgent mistress in the world, nor ever missed one single opportunity that fell in her way of improving it to her own advantage. She hath preserved a tolerable court-reputation, with respect to love and gallantry ; but three furies reigned in her breast, the most mortal enemies of all softer passions, which were sordid avarice, disdainful pride, and ungovernable rage ; by the last of these often breaking out in sallies of the most unpardonable sort, she had long alienated her sovereign's mind, before it appeared to the world. This lady is not without some degree of wit, and hath in her time affected the character of it, by the usual method of arguing against religion, and proving the doctrines of Christianity to be impossible and absurd. Imagine what such a spirit, irritated by the loss of power, favour, and employment,

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ployment, is capable of acting or attempting, and then I have said enough.

The next in order to be mentioned is the Earl of GODOLPHIN: it is said, he was originally intended for a trade, before his friends preferred him to be a page at court, which some have very unjustly objected as a reproach. He hath risen gradually in four reigns, and was more constant to his second master King JAMES, than some others who had received much greater obligations; for he attended the abdicated King to the sea-side, and kept constant correspondence with him till the day of his death. He always professed a sort of passion for the Queen at *St. Germain's*; and his letters were to her in the style of what the *French* call double-entendre. In a mixture of love and respect, he used frequently to send her from hence little presents of those things which are agreeable to Ladies, for which he always asked King WILLIAM's leave, as if without

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 19

but her privity; because if she had known that circumstance, it was to be supposed she would not accept them. Physiognomists would hardly discover, by consulting the aspect of this lord, that his predominant passions were love and play; that he could sometimes scratch out a song in praise of his mistress with a pencil and card; or that he hath tears at command, like a woman, to be used either in an intrigue of gallantry, or politicks. His alliance with the MARLBOROUGH family, and his passion for the Dutchess, were the cords which dragged him into a party, whose principles he naturally disliked, and whose leaders he personally hated, as they did him. He became a thorough convert, by a perfect trifle, taking fire at a nick-name* delivered by Dr. SACHEVEREL, with great indiscretion from the pulpit, which he applied to himself: and this is one, among many instances given by his enemies, that magnanimity is none of his virtues.

* Volpone.

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The Earl of SUNDERLAND is another of that alliance. It seems to have been this gentleman's fortune to have learned his divinity from his uncle, and his politicks from his tutor †. It may be thought a blemish in his character, that he hath much fallen from the height of those republican principles with which he began; for in his father's life-time, while he was a member of the house of commons, he would often among his familiar friends refuse the title of Lord (as he hath done to myself), swear he would never be called otherwise than CHARLES SPENCER, and hoped to see the day when there should not be a peer in *England*. His understanding, at the best, is of the middling size; neither hath he much improved it, either in reality, or, which is very unfortunate, even in the opinion of the world, by an overgrown library. It is hard to decide, whether he learned that rough way of treating his sovereign from the lady he is allied

† DR. TRIMNEL, since Bishop of *Winton*.

to;

to, or whether it be the result of his own nature. The sense of the injuries he hath done, renders him (as it is very natural) implacable towards those to whom he hath given greatest cause to complain ; for which reason he will never forgive either the Queen or the present Treasurer.

The Earl of WHARTON hath filled the province allotted him by his colleagues, with sufficiency equal to the ablest of them all. He hath imbibed his father's † principles in government, but dropt his religion, and took up no other in its stead : excepting that circumstance, he is a firm Presbyterian. He is perfectly skilled in all the arts of managing at elections, as well as in large baits of pleasure for making converts of young men of quality, upon their first appearance ; in which publick service he contracted such large debts, that his brethren were forced, out of mere justice, to leave *Ireland* at his mercy, where he had only time to set himself

† The Earl, his father, was a rigid Presbyterian.

right. Although the graver heads of his party think him too profligate and abandoned, yet they dare not be ashamed of him; for besides his talents above-mentioned, he is very useful in parliament, being a ready speaker, and content to employ his gift upon such occasions where those who conceive they have any remainder of reputation or modesty are ashamed to appear. In short, he is an uncontestable instance to discover the true nature of faction; since being over-run with every quality which produceth contempt and hatred in all other commerce of the world, he hath notwithstanding been able to make so considerable a figure.

The Lord COWPER, although his merits are later than the rest, deserveth a rank in this great council. He was considerable in the station of a practising lawyer; but as he was raised to be a chancellor and a peer, without passing through any of the intermediate steps, which in late times hath been the constant practice,
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and little skilled in the nature of government, or the true interests of princes, further than the municipal or common law of *England*; his abilities, as to foreign affairs, did not equally appear in the council. Some former passages of his life were thought to disqualify him for that office, by which he was to be the guardian of the Queen's conscience; but these difficulties were easily over-ruled by the authors of his promotion, who wanted a person that would be subservient to all their designs, wherein they were not disappointed. As to his other accomplishments, he was what we usually call a piece of a scholar, and a good logical reasoner, if this were not too often allayed by a fallacious way of managing an argument, which ~~makes~~ ^{makes} him apt to deceive the unwary, and sometimes to deceive himself.

The last to be spoken of in this list is the Earl of NOTTINGHAM, a convert and acquisition to that party since their fall, to
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which he contributed his assistance, I mean his words, and probably his wishes; for he had always lived under the constant visible profession of principles, directly opposite to those of his new friends: his vehement and frequent speeches against admitting the Prince of ORANGE to the throne, are yet to be seen; and although a numerous family gave a specious pretence to his love of power and money, for taking an employment under that monarch; yet he was allowed to have always kept a reserve of allegiance to his exiled master, of which his friends produce several instances, and some while he was secretary of state to King WILLIAM. His outward regularity of life, his appearance of religion, and seeming zeal for the church, as they are an effect, so they are the excuse for that stiffness and formality with which his nature is fraught. His austere complexion disposeth him to rigour and severity, which his admirers palliate with the name of zeal. No man had
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ever a sincerer countenance, or more truly representing his mind and manners. He hath some knowledge in the law, very amply sufficient to defend his property at least: a facility of utterance, descended to him from his father, and improved by a few sprinklings of literature, hath brought himself, and some few admirers, into an opinion of his eloquence. He is every way inferior to his brother GUERNSEY, but chiefly in those talents which he most values and pretends to; over whom, nevertheless, he preserveth an ascendant. His great ambition was to be the head of those who were called the Church-party; and, indeed, his grave solemn deportment and countenance, seconded by abundance of professions for their service, had given many of them an opinion of his veracity, which he interpreted as their sense of his judgment and wisdom; and this mistake lasted till the time of his defection, of which it was partly the cause: but then
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it plainly appeared, that he had not credit to bring over one single profelyte, to keep himself in countenance.

These lineaments, however imperfectly drawn, may help the reader's imagination to conceive what sort of persons those were, who had the boldness to encounter the Queen and ministry, at the head of a great majority of the landed interest; and this upon a point, where the quiet of her Majesty's reign, the security, or at least the freedom, of her person, the lives of her most faithful friends, and the settling of the nation by a peace, were, in the consequences, deeply concerned.

During the dominion of the late men in power, addresses had been procured from both houses to the Queen, representing their opinion, that no peace could be secure for *Britain*, while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in the possession of the BOURBON family: but her Majesty having, for reasons which have been often told to the world, and which will not soon

soon be forgotten, called a new parliament; and chose a new set of servants, began to view things and persons in another light. She considered the necessities of her people, the distant prospect of a peace upon such an improbable condition, which was never mentioned or understood in the grand alliance; the unequal burthen she bore in the war, by the practices of the allies upon the corruption of some whom she most trusted, or perhaps by the practices of these upon the allies; and, lastly, by the changes which death had brought about in the AUSTRIAN and BOURBON families. Upon all which motives she was prevailed upon to receive some overtures from *France*, in behalf of herself and the whole confederacy. The several steps of this negotiation, from its first rise to the time I am now writing, shall be related in another part of this History. Let it suffice for the present to say, that such proposals were received from *France* as were thought suffi-

sufficient by our court, whereupon to appoint time and place for a general treaty; and soon after the opening of the session, the bishop of * *Bristol*, lord privy-seal, was dispatched to *Utrecht*, where he and the Earl of STRAFFORD were appointed plenipotentiaries for the Queen of *Great Britain*.

The managers of the discontented party, who, during the whole Summer, had observed the motions of the court running fast towards a peace, began to gather up all their forces, in order to oppose her Majesty's designs, when the parliament should meet. Their only strength was in the house of Lords, where the Queen had a very crazy majority, made up by those whose hearts were in the other interest; but whose fears, expectations, or immediate dependance, had hitherto kept them within bounds. There were two lords upon whose abilities and influence, of a very different nature, the managers built their strongest hopes. The

* Dr. ROBINSON, afterwards bishop of *London*,

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first was the Duke of master of the horse. This Duke, as well as his Dutcheſs, was in a good degree of favour with the Queen, upon the ſcore of ſome civilities and reſpects her Maſteſty had received from them, while ſhe was Princeſs. For ſome years after the Revolution, he never appeared at court, but was looked upon as a favourer of the abdicated family; and it was the late Earl of ROCHESTER who firſt preſented him to King WILLIAM. However, ſince the time he came into employment, which was towards the cloſe of the laſt reign, he hath been a conſtant zealous member of the other party; but never failed in either attendance or reſpect towards the Queen's perſon, or, at moſt, only threatned ſometimes, that he would ſerve no longer, while ſuch or ſuch men were employed; which, as things went then, was not reckoned any offence at all againſt duty or good behaviour. He had been much caſſed and flattered by the
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Lords of the Junctō †, who sometimes went so far as to give him hopes of the crown, in reversion to his family, upon failure of the house of HANNOVER. All this worked so far upon his imagination, that he affected to appear the head of their party, to which his talents were no way proportioned; for they soon grew weary of his indigested schemes, and his imperious manner of obtruding them: they began to drop him at their meetings, or contradicted him, with little ceremony, when he happened to be there, which his haughty nature was not able to brook. Thus a mortal quarrel was kindled between him and the whole assembly of party-leaders; so that, upon the Queen's first intentions of changing her ministry, soon after the trial of Dr. SACHEVEREL, he appointed several meetings with Mr. HARLEY alone, in the most private manner, in places and at times least liable to suspicion. He employed all his credit

† A cant name given to five Lords of that party.

with the Queen to drive on the removal of my Lord GODOLPHIN, and the rest; and, in the council, treated the small remainder, who continued some time longer in their places, with all possible marks of hatred or disdain. But when the question came for dissolving the parliament, he stopt short: he had already satiated his resentments, which were not against things, but persons: he furiously opposed that counsel, and promised to undertake for the parliament himself. When the Queen had declared her pleasure for the dissolution, he flew off in greater rage than ever; opposed the court in all elections, where he had influence or power; and made very humble advances to reconcile himself with the discarded lords, especially the Earl of GODOLPHIN, who is reported to have treated him at *New-market* in a most contemptuous manner. But the sincerity of his repentance, which appeared manifestly in the first session of the new parliament, and the use he might
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be of by his own remaining credit, or rather that of his Dutcheſs, with the Queen, at length begat a reconcilment. He ſtill kept his employment, and place in the cabinet-council; but had never appeared there, from an avowed diſlike of all perſons and proceedings. It happened, about the end of Summer, One thouſand ſeven hundred and eleven, at *Windsor*, when the cabinet-council was ſummoned, this Duke, whether by directions from his teachers, or the inſtability of his nature, took a fancy to reſume his place, and a chair was brought accordingly; upon which Mr. ſecretary ST. JOHN reſuſed to aſſiſt, and gave his reaſons, that he would never ſit in council with a man who had ſo often betrayed them, and was openly engaged with a faction which endeavoured to obſtruct all her Maſteſty's meaſures. Thus the council was put off to next day, and the Duke made no farther attempts to be there. But, upon this incident, he declared open war againſt the
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the ministry ; and, from that time to the session, employed himself in spiriting up several depending lords to adhere to their friends, when an occasion should offer. The arguments he made use of, were, that those in power designed to make an ignominious and unsecure peace, without consulting the allies ; that this could be no otherwise prevented than by an address from the Lords, to signify their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or secure, while *Spain* or the *West-Indies* remained in any of the *BOURBON* family : upon which several farther resolutions and inquiries would naturally follow ; that the differences between the two houses, upon this point, must either be made up by the Commons agreeing with the Lords, or must end in a dissolution, which would be followed by a return of the old ministry, who, by the force of money and management, could easily get another parliament to their wishes. He farther assured them boldly, that the Queen her-

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self was at the bottom of this design, and had empowered him to desire their votes against the peace, as a point that would be for her service; and therefore they need not be in pain upon account of their pensions, or any farther marks of favour they expected. Thus, by reviving the old art of using her Majesty's authority against her person, he prevailed over some, who were not otherwise in a station of life to oppose the crown; and his proselytes may pretend to some share of pity, since he offered for an argument his own example, who kept his place and favour, after all he had done to deserve the loss of both.

The other lord, in whom the discontented managers placed much of their hopes, was the Earl of NOTTINGHAM, already mentioned; than whom no man ever appeared to hate them more, or to be more pleased at their fall, partly from his avowed principles, but chiefly from the hopes he had of sharing in their spoils.

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But it fell out, that he was no way acceptable to the Queen or her new servants: these apprehended no little trouble and impediment to the publick business, from his restless, talkative, overweening manner, if once he was suffered to have any part in affairs; and he stood very ill with the court, having made a motion in the house of Lords, and in her Majesty's presence, that the Electoral Prince of HANNOVER might be invited to reside in *England*, although he had before declared to the Queen how much he was against that proposal, when it was first offered by the other party. However, some very considerable employments had been given to his nearest relations; and he had one or two offers for himself, which he thought fit to refuse, as not equal to his merits and character. Upon the Earl of ROCHESTER's decease, he conceived that the crown would hardly overlook him for President of the council, and deeply resented that disappointment. But the Duke

of NEWCASTLE, Lord privy-seal, dying some time after, he found that office was first designed for the Earl of JERSEY, and, upon this lord's sudden death, was actually disposed of to the Bishop of BRISTOL: by which he plainly saw, that the Queen was determined against giving him any opportunity of directing in affairs, or displaying his eloquence in the cabinet-council. He had now shaken off all remains of patience or temper; and, from the contemplation of his own disappointments, fell, as it is natural, to find fault with the publick management, and to assure his neighbours in the country, that the nation was in imminent danger of being ruined. The discontented lords were soon apprised of this great change; and the Duke of ROXBOROUGH, the Earl's son-in-law, was dispatched to *Burleigh on the Hill*, to cultivate his present dispositions, and offer him whatever terms he pleased to insist on. The Earl immediately agreed to fall in with any measures for

for distressing or destroying the ministry : but, in order to preserve his reputation with the Church-party, and perhaps bring them over to his interests, he proposed, that a bill should be brought into the house of Lords for preventing occasional conformity, and be unanimously agreed to by all the peers of the Low-church principle, which would convince the world of their good intentions to the established religion; and that their oppositions to the court wholly proceeded from their care of the nation, and concern for its honour and safety.

These preparations were publick enough, and the ministers had sufficient time to arm themselves; but they seem to have acted, in this juncture, like men who trusted to the goodness of their cause, and the general inclinations of the kingdom, rather than to those arts which our corruptions have too often made necessary. Calculations were indeed taken, by which it was computed, that there

would be a majority of ten upon the side of the court; I remember to have told my Lord HARCOURT and Mr. PRIOR, that a majority of ten was only a majority of five, because if their adversaries could bring off five, the number would be equal: and so it happened to prove; for the mistake lay in counting upon the bare promises of those who were wholly in the interest of the old ministry, and were only kept in awe by the fear of offending the crown, and losing their subsistence, wherein the Duke of SOMERSET had given them full satisfaction.

With these dispositions of both parties, and fears and hopes of the event, the parliament met upon the seventh of *December*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven. The Queen's speech (excepting what related to supplies) was chiefly taken up in telling both houses what progress she had made towards a general peace, and her hopes of bringing it to a speedy conclusion. As soon as her

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Majesty was withdrawn, the house of Lords, in a committee, resolved upon an address of thanks; to which the Earl of NOTTINGHAM proposed an addition of the following clause.

“ And we do beg leave to represent it
 “ to your Majesty, as the humble opi-
 “ nion and advice of this house, that no
 “ peace can be safe or honourable to
 “ *Great Britain and Europe, if Spain*
 “ and the *West-Indies* are to be allotted
 “ to any branch of the house of BOUR-
 “ BON.”

He was seconded by the Earl of SCARBOROUGH; and, after a debate of several hours, the question for the clause was carried, as I remember, by not above two voices. The next day the house agreed with the committee. The depending lords, having taken fresh courage from their principals, and some who professed themselves very humble servants to the present ministry, and enemies to the former, went along with

the stream, pretending not to see the consequences that must visibly follow. The address was presented on the eleventh, to which her Majesty's answer was short and dry. She distinguished their thanks from the rest of the piece; and, in return to Lord NOTTINGHAM's clause, said, she should be sorry that any body could think she would not do her utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the house of BOURBON.

Upon the fifteenth of *December* the Earl of NOTTINGHAM likewise brought in the bill to prevent occasional conformity (although under a disguised title), which met with no opposition; but was swallowed by those very lords, who always appeared with the utmost violence against the least advantage to the established church.

But in the house of Commons there appeared a very different spirit; for when one Mr. ROBERT WALPOLE offered a clause of the same nature with that of
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the Earl of NOTTINGHAM, it was rejected with contempt by a very great majority. Their address was in the most dutiful manner, approving of what her Majesty had done towards a peace, and trusting intirely to her wisdom in the future management of it. This address was presented to the Queen a day before that of the Lords, and received an answer distinguishedly gracious. But the other party was no ways discouraged by either answer; which they looked upon as only matter of course, and the sense of the ministry, contrary to that of the Queen.

The parliament sat as long as the approaching festival would allow; and upon the twenty-second, the land-tax and occasional bills having received the royal assent, the house of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of *January* following: but the adjournment of the Lords was only to the second, the prevailing party there being in haste to pursue the consequences

quences of the Earl of NOTTINGHAM's clause, which they hoped would end in the ruin of the Treasurer, and overthrow the ministry; and therefore took the advantage of this interval, that they might not be disturbed by the Commons.

When this address against any peace without *Spain*, &c. was carried in the house of Lords, it is not easy to describe the effects it had upon most mens passions. The partisans of the old ministry triumphed loudly, and without any reserve, as if the game were their own. The Earl of WHARTON was observed in the house to smile, and put his hands to his neck when any of the ministry was speaking, by which he would have it understood that some heads were in danger. PARKER, the Chief justice, began already with great zeal and officiousness to prosecute authors and printers of weekly and other papers, writ in defence of the administration: in short, joy and vengeance sat visible in every countenance of that party.

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On the other side, all well-wishers to the Queen, the Church, or the Peace, were equally dejected; and the Treasurer stood the foremost mark both of his enemies' fury, and the censure of his friends: among the latter, some imputed this fatal miscarriage to his procrastinating nature; others, to his unmeasurable publick thrift: both parties agreed, that a first minister, with very moderate skill in affairs, might easily have governed the event: and some began to doubt, whether the great fame of his abilities, acquired in other stations, were what he justly deserved: all this he knew well enough, and heard it with great phlegm; neither did it make any alteration in his countenance or humour. He told Monsieur Buys, the *Dutch* envoy, two days before the parliament sat, that he was sorry for what was like to pass, because the States would be the first sufferers, which he desired the envoy to remember: and to his nearest friends, who appeared in pain about the publick or them-

themselves, he only said that all would be well, and desired them not to be frightened.

It was, I conceive, upon these motives, that the Treasurer advised her majesty to create twelve new lords, and thereby disable the sting of faction for the rest of her life-time : this promotion was so ordered, that a third part were of those on whom, or their posterity, the peerage would naturally devolve ; and the rest were such, whose merit, birth, and fortune, could admit of no exception.

The adverse party being thus driven down by open force, had nothing left but to complain, which they loudly did ; that it was a pernicious example set for ill princes to follow, who, by the same rule, might make at any time an hundred as well as twelve, and by these means become masters of the house of Lords whenever they pleased, which would be dangerous to our liberties. To this it was an-

swered, that ill princes seldom trouble themselves to look for precedents ; that men of great estates will not be less fond of preserving their liberties when they are created peers ; that in such a government as this, where the prince holds the balance between two great powers, the nobility and people, it is the very nature of his office to remove from one scale into the other, or sometimes put his own weight in the lightest, so as to bring both to an equilibrium ; and lastly, that the other party had been above twenty years corrupting the nobility with republican principles, which nothing but the royal prerogative could hinder from overspreading us.

The Conformity-bill above-mentioned was prepared by the Earl of NOTTINGHAM before the parliament met, and brought in at the same time with the clause against peace, according to the bargain made between him and his new friends : this he hoped would not only save his credit with the Church-party, but
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bring them over to his politicks, since they must needs be convinced, that instead of changing his own principles, he had prevailed on the greatest enemies to the established religion to be the first movers in a law for the perpetual settlement of it. Here it was worth observing, with what resignation the Juncto Lords (as they were then called) ~~are~~ submitted to by ^{UNAK} their adherents and followers; for it is well known, that the chief among the dissenting teachers in town were consulted upon this affair, and such arguments used, as had power to convince them, that nothing could be of greater advantage to their cause than the passing this bill. I did, indeed, see a letter at that time from one of them to a great * man, complaining, that they were betrayed and undone by their pretended friends; but they were in general very well satisfied upon promises that this law should soon be repealed, and others more in their favour enacted, as soon as their friends should be re-established.

* It was to the Treasurer himself.

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But nothing seemed more extraordinary than the event of this refined management, by which the Earl of NOTTINGHAM was so far from bringing over protestants (wherein his abilities fell very short even of the Duke of SOMERSET's); or preserving the reputation of a firm churchman, that very few people did so much as imagine he had any such design; only when he brought in the bill, they conceived it was some wonderful deep reach of politicks, which they could not comprehend: however, they liked the thing, and without troubling themselves about the persons or motives from whence it rose, it had a very speedy passage through both houses. It must be confessed, that some attempt of this nature was much more necessary to the leaders of that party, than is generally thought. The desire of power and revenge was common to them all; but several among them were also conscious that they stood in need of protection, whose safety was therefore concerned in
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the design of ruining the ministry, as well as their ambition. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH foresaw those examinations, which were afterwards made into some parts of his management, and was apprehensive of a great deal more; that the parliament would perhaps enquire into the particulars of the negociation at the *Hague* in One thousand seven hundred and nine; for what ends, and by whose advice the propositions of peace from *France* were rejected: besides, he dreaded lest that mysterious policy might be laid open to the world, of desiring the Queen to constitute him General for life, which was a very tender point, and would admit of much proof. It is true, indeed, that whilst the Duke's affair was under the consideration of the house of Commons, one of his creatures * (whether by direction or otherwise) assured the Speaker, with a very serious countenance, that the world was mistaken in censuring his lord upon this

* CRAGGS, father to the Secretary.

article ;

article ; for it was the Queen who pressed the Duke to accept that commission ; and upon his humble refusal conceived her first displeasure against him. How such a defence would have passed, if it had been offered in form, is easier to be conceived, than how any person in his wits could have the confidence to affirm it ; which last would indeed be hard to believe, if there were any room left for doubt.

The Earl of GODOLPHIN wanted protection, notwithstanding the act of general pardon, which had been procured by his credit, and was principally calculated for his own security. He knew that his long neglect of compelling the accomptants to pass their accompts, might be punished as a breach of trust. He had run the kingdom into immense debts, by taking up stores for the navy upon a vast discount, without parliamentary security ; for which he could be able to plead neither law nor necessity : and he had given way, at least, to some proceedings, not very justifiable,

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in relation to remittances of money, whereby the publick had suffered considerable losses. The Barrier-treaty sat heavy upon the Lord TOWNSEND's spirits, because if it should be laid before the house of Commons, whoever negotiated that affair, might be subject to the most severe animadversions: and the Earl of WHARTON's administration in *Ireland* was looked upon as a sufficient ground to impeach him, at least, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

The managers in *Holland* were sufficiently apprized of all this; and Monsieur Buys, their minister here, took care to cultivate that good correspondence between his masters and their *English* friends, which became two confederates, pursuing the same end.

This man had been formerly employed in *England* from that Republick, and understood a little of our language. His proficiency in learning has been such, as to furnish now and then a *Latin* quotation,

tion, of which he is as liberal as his stock will admit. His knowledge in government reaches no farther than that of his own country, by which he forms and cultivates matters of state for the rest of the world. His reasonings upon politicks are with great profusion at all meetings ; and he leaves the company with entire satisfaction that he hath fully convinced them. He is well provided with that inferior sort of cunning, which is the growth of his country, of a standard with the genius of the people, and capable of being transferred into every condition of life among them, from the Boor to the Burgomaster. He came into *England* with instructions, authorising him to accommodate all differences between her Majesty and the States ; but having first advised with the confederate lords, he assured the ministry he had powers to hear their proposals, but none to conclude : and having represented to his masters what had been told him by the adverse party, he prevailed

with them to revoke his powers. He found the interest of those who withstood the court, would exactly fall in with the designs of the States, which were to carry on the war as they could, at our expence, and to see themselves at the head of a treaty of peace, whenever they were disposed to apply to *France*, or to receive overtures from thence.

The Emperor, upon many powerful reasons, was utterly averse from all councils which aimed at putting an end to the war, without delivering him the whole dominion of *Spain*; nay, the Elector of HANOVER himself, although presumptive heir to the crown of *England*, and obliged by all sorts of ties to cultivate her Majesty's friendship, was so far deceived by misrepresentations from hence, that he seemed to suffer Monsieur BOTHMAR, his envoy here, to print and publish a memorial in *English*, directly disapproving all her Majesty's proceedings; which memorial, as appeareth by the style and manner of it,

was

was all drawn up, or at least digested, by some party-pen on this side of the water.

Cautious writers, in order to avoid offence or danger, and to preserve the respect even due to foreign princes, do usually charge the wrong steps in a court altogether upon the persons employed; but I should have taken a securer method, and have been wholly silent in this point, if I had not then conceived some hope, that his Electoral Highness might possibly have been a stranger to the memorial of his resident: for, first, the manner of delivering it to the Secretary of state was out of all form, and almost as extraordinary as the thing itself. Monsieur BOUTHMAR having obtained an hour of Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN, talked much to him upon the subject of which that memorial consists; and upon going away, desired he might leave a paper with the Secretary, which he said, contained the substance of what he had been discoursing. This paper Mr. ST. JOHN laid aside, among others of little

consequence ; and a few days saw a memorial in print, which he found upon comparing to be the same with what BOTHMAR had left.

During this short recess of parliament, and upon the fifth day of *January*, Prince EUGENE, of *Savoy*, landed in *England*. Before he left his ship he asked a person who came to meet him, whether the new lords were made, and what was their number ? He was attended through the streets with a mighty rabble of people to *St. James's*, where Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN introduced him to the Queen, who received him with great civility. His arrival had been long expected, and the project of his journey had as long been formed here by the party-leaders, in concert with Monsieur BEYS, and Monsieur BOTHMAR, the *Dutch* and *Hanover* envoys. This prince brought over credentials from the Emperor, with offers to continue the war upon a new foot, very advantageous to *Britain* ; part of which,
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by her Majesty's commands, Mr. ST. JOHN soon after produced to the house of Commons, where they were rejected, not without some indignation, by a great majority. The Emperor's proposals, as far as they related to *Spain*, were communicated to the house in the words following.

“ His Imperial Majesty judges, that
 “ forty thousand men will be sufficient for
 “ this service; and that the whole expence
 “ of the war in *Spain*, may amount to
 “ four millions of crowns, towards which
 “ his Imperial Majesty offers to make up
 “ the troops, which he has in that coun-
 “ try, to thirty thousand men, and to take
 “ one million of crowns upon himself.”

On the other side the house of Commons voted a third part of those four millions as a sufficient quota for her Majesty toward that service; for it was supposed the Emperor ought to bear the greatest proportion in a point that so nearly concerned him; or at least, that

Britain contributing one third, the other two might be paid by his Imperial Majesty and the States, as they could settle it between them.

The design of Prince EUGENE's journey, was to raise a spirit in the parliament and people for continuing the war; for nothing was thought impossible to a prince of such high reputation in arms, in great favour with the Emperor, and impowered to make such proposals from his master, as the ministry durst not reject. It appeared by an intercepted letter from Count GALLAS, (formerly the Emperor's envoy here) that the Prince was wholly left to his liberty of making what offers he pleased in the Emperor's name; for if the parliament could once be brought to raise funds, and the war go on, the ministry here must be under a necessity of applying and expending those funds; and the Emperor could afterwards find twenty reasons and excuses, as he had hitherto done, for not furnishing his quota: therefore

Prince EUGENE, for some time, kept himself within generals, until being pressed to explain himself upon that particular of the war in *Spain*, which the house of AUSTRIA pretended to have most at heart, he made the offer above-mentioned, as a most extraordinary effort; and so it was, considering how little they had ever done before, towards recovering that monarchy to themselves: but shameful as these proposals were, few believed the Emperor would observe them, or, indeed, that he ever intended to spare so many men, as would make up an army of thirty thousand men, to be employed in *Spain*.

Prince EUGENE's visit to his friends in *England* continued longer than was expected; he was every day entertained magnificently by persons of quality of both parties; he went frequently to the Treasurer, and sometimes affected to do it in private; he visited the other ministers and great officers of the court, but on all occasions publicly owned the character
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and appellation of a Whig ; and in secret, held continual meetings with the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and the other discontented lords, where Mr. BOTHMAR usually assisted. It is the great ambition of this prince to be perpetually engaged in war, without considering the cause or consequence ; and to see himself at the head of an army, where only he can make any considerable figure. He is not without a natural tincture of that cruelty, some time charged upon the *Italians* ; and being nursed in arms, hath so far extinguished pity and remorse, that he will at any time sacrifice a thousand mens lives, to a caprice of glory or revènge. He had conceived an incurable hatred for the Treasurer, as the person who principally opposed this insatiable passion for war ; said he had hopes of others, but that the Treasurer was *un mechant diable*, not to be moved ; therefore, since it was impossible for him or his friends to compass their designs, while that minister continued at the

head of affairs, he proposed an expedient, often practised by those of his country, that the Treasurer (to use his own expression) should be taken off, *a la negligence*; that this might easily be done, and pass for an effect of chance, if it were preceded by encouraging some proper people to commit small riots in the night: and in several parts of the town, a crew of obscure ruffians were accordingly employed about that time, who probably exceeded their commission; and mixing themselves with those disorderly people that often infest the streets at midnight, acted inhuman outrages on many persons, whom they cut and mangled in the face and arms, and other parts of the body, without any provocation; but an effectual stop was soon put to these enormities, which probably prevented the execution of the main design.

I am very sensible, that such an imputation ought not to be charged upon any person whatsoever, upon slight grounds or doubtful

doubtful surmises ; and that those, who think I am able to produce no better, will judge this passage to be fitter for a libel than a history ; but as the account was given by more than one person who was at the meeting, so it was confirmed past all contradiction by several intercepted letters and papers : and it is most certain, that the rage of the defeated party, upon their frequent disappointments, was so far inflamed, as to make them capable of some counsels yet more violent and desperate than this, which, however, by the vigilance of those near the person of her Majesty, were happily prevented.

On the thirtieth day of *December*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH was removed from all his employments : the Duke of ORMOND succeeding him as general, both here and in *Flanders*. This proceeding of the court (as far as it related to the Duke of MARLBOROUGH) was much censured both at home and abroad, and by some
who

who did not wish ill to the present situation of affairs. There were few examples of a commander being disgraced, after an uninterrupted course for many years against a formidable enemy, and this before a period was put to the war: those who had least esteem for his valour and conduct, thought it not prudent to remove a general, whose troops were perpetually victorious, while he was at their head; because this had infused into his soldiers an opinion that they should always conquer, and into the enemy that they should always be beaten; than which, nothing is held to be of greater moment, either in the progress of a war, or upon the day of battle; and I have good grounds to affirm, that these reasons had sufficient weight with the Queen and ministry to have kept the Duke of MARLBOROUGH in his post, if a way could have been found out to have done it with any assurance of safety to the nation. It is the misfortune of princes, that the effects of their displeasure make

make usually much more noise than the causes: thus, the sound of the Duke's fall was heard farther than many of the reasons which made it necessary; whereof, though some were visible enough, yet others lay more in the dark. Upon the Duke's last return from *Flanders*, he had fixed his arrival to town (whether by accident or otherwise) upon the seventeenth of *November*, called Queen ELIZABETH's day, when great numbers of his creatures and admirers had thought fit to revive an old ceremony among the rabble, of burning the Pope in effigy; for the performance of which, with more solemnity, they had made extraordinary preparations. From the several circumstances of the expence of this intended pageantry, and of the persons who promoted it, the court, apprehensive of a design to inflame the common people, thought fit to order, that the several figures should be seized as popish trinkets; and guards were ordered to patrol, for preventing any tumultuous af-

assemblies. Whether this frolick were only intended for an affront to the court, or whether it had a deeper meaning, I must leave undetermined. The Duke, in his own nature, is not much turned to be popular; and in his flourishing times, whenever he came back to *England* upon the close of a campaign, he rather affected to avoid any concourse of the mob, if they had been disposed to attend him; therefore, so very contrary a proceeding at this juncture, made it suspected as if he had a design to have placed himself at their head. *France*, *Popery*, the Pretender, *Peace without Spain*, were the words to be given about at this mock-parade; and if what was confidently asserted be true, that a report was to have been spread at the same time of the Queen's death, no man can tell what might have been the event.

But this attempt, to whatever purposes intended, proving wholly abortive by the vigilance of those in power, the Duke's
arrival

arrival was without any noise or consequence; and upon consulting with his friends, he soon fell in with their new scheme for preventing the peace. It was believed by many persons, that the ministers might, with little difficulty, have brought him over, if they had pleased to make a trial; for as he would probably have accepted any terms to continue in a station of such prodigious profit, so there was sufficient room to work upon his fears, of which he is seldom unprovided (I mean only in his political capacity) and his infirmity very much increased by his unmeasurable possessions, which have rendered him, *ipsique onerique timentem*; but reason, as well as the event, proved this to be a mistake: for the ministers being determined to bring the war to as speedy an issue as the honour and safety of their country would permit, could not possibly recompence the Duke for the mighty incomes he held by the continuance of it. Then the other party had
cal-

calculated their numbers; and by the accession of the Earl of NOTTINGHAM, whose example they hoped would have many followers, and the successful solicitations of the Duke of SOMERSET, found they were sure of a majority in the house of Lords: so that in this view of circumstances, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH thought he acted with security, as well as advantage: he therefore boldly fell, with his whole weight, into the design of ruining the ministry at the expence of his duty to his Sovereign, and the welfare of his country, after the mighty obligations he had received from both. Whig and Tory were now no longer the dispute, but the Queen or the Duke of MARLBOROUGH: He was at the head of all the cabals and consults with BOTHMAR, Buys, and the discontented lords. He forgot that government of his passion, for which his admirers used to celebrate him, fell into all the impotencies of anger and violence upon every party-debate: so that

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the Queen found herself under a necessity, either on the one side to sacrifice those friends, who had ventured their lives in rescuing her out of the power of some, whose former treatment she had little reason to be fond of, to put an end to the progress she had made towards a peace, and dissolve her parliament; or, on the other side, by removing one person from so great a trust, to get clear of all her difficulties at once: her Majesty therefore determined upon the latter, as the shorter and safer course; and during the recess at Christmas, sent the Duke a letter, to tell him she had no farther occasion for his service.

There hath not perhaps in the present age been a clearer instance to shew the instability of greatness which is not founded upon virtue; and it may be an instruction to princes, who are well in the hearts of their people, that the overgrown power of any particular person, although supported by exorbitant wealth, can

can by a little resolution be reduced in a moment, without any dangerous consequences. This lord, who was, beyond all comparison, the greatest subject in Christendom, found his power, credit, and influence, crumble away on a sudden; and, except a few friends or followers, by inclination, the rest dropt off in course. From directing in some manner the affairs of *Europe*, he descended to be a member of a faction, and with little distinction even there: that virtue of subduing his resentments, for which he was so famed when he had little or no occasion to exert it, having now wholly forsaken him when he stood most in need of its assistance; and upon tryal was found unable to bear a reverse of fortune, giving way to rage, impatience, envy, and discontent.

NOTES

1880

1881

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1890

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.

BOOK II.

THE house of Lords met upon the second day of *January*, according to their adjournment; but before they could proceed to business, the twelve new-created peers were, in the usual form, admitted to their seats in that assembly, who, by their numbers, turned the balance on the side of the court, and voted an adjournment to the same day with the commons. Upon the fourteenth

of *January* the two houses met; but the Queen, who intended to be there in person, sent a message to inform them, that she was prevented by a sudden return of the gout, and to desire they would adjourn for three days longer, when her Majesty hoped she should be able to speak to them. However, her indisposition still continuing, Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN brought another message to the house of Commons from the Queen, containing the substance of what she intended to have spoken; that she could now tell them, her plenipotentiaries were arrived at *Utrecht*; had begun, in pursuance of her instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all powers in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; that she promised to communicate to them the conditions of peace, before the same should be concluded; that the world would now see how groundless those

those reports were, and without the least colour, that a separate peace had been treated; that her ministers were directed to propose, that a day might be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and that, in the mean time, all preparations were hastening for an early campaign, &c.

Her Majesty's endeavours towards this great work having been in such a forwardness at the time that her message was sent, I shall here, as in the most proper place, relate the several steps by which the intercourse between the courts of *France* and *Britain* was begun and carried on.

The Marquis DE TORCY, sent by the most Christian King to the *Hague*, had there, in the year One thousand seven hundred and nine, made very advantageous offers to the allies, in his master's name; which our ministers, as well as those of the States, thought fit to refuse, and advanced other proposals in their stead, but of such a nature as no

prince could digest, who did not lie at the immediate mercy of his enemies. It was demanded, among other things, that the *French King* should employ his own troops, in conjunction with those of the allies, to drive his grandson out of *Spain*. The proposers knew very well, that the enemy would never consent to this; and if it were possible they could at first have any such hopes, *Mons. DE TOREY* assured them to the contrary, in a manner which might well be believed; for then the *British* and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries were drawing up their demands. They desired that minister to assist them in the style and expression, which he very readily did, and made use of the strongest words he could find to please them. He then insisted to know their last resolution, whether these were the lowest terms the allies would accept; and having received a determinate answer in the affirmative, he spoke to this effect:

“That

" That he thanked them heartily for
 " giving him the happiest day he had
 " ever seen in his life: that, in perfect
 " obedience to his master, he had made
 " concessions, in his own opinion, highly
 " derogatory to the King's honour and
 " interest: that he had not concealed the
 " difficulties of his court, or the discon-
 " tents of his country, by a long and
 " unsuccessful war, which could only
 " justify the large offers he had been
 " impowered to make: that the condi-
 " tions of peace, now delivered into his
 " hands by the allies, would raise a new
 " spirit in the nation, and remove the
 " greatest difficulty the court lay under,
 " putting it in his master's power to con-
 " vince all his subjects how earnestly his
 " Majesty desired to ease them from the
 " burthen of the war; but that his ene-
 " mies would not accept of any terms,
 " which could consist either with their
 " safety or his honour." Mons. TORCY
 assured the Pensioner, in the strongest
 man-

manner, and bid him count upon it, that the King his master would never sign those articles.

It soon appeared, that the Marquis DE TORCY's predictions were true ; for upon delivering to his master the last resolutions of the allies, that Prince took care to publish them all over his kingdom, as an appeal to his subjects against the unreasonableness and injustice of his enemies : which proceeding effectually answered the utmost he intended by it ; for the *French* nation, extremely jealous of their Monarch's glory, made universal offers of their lives and fortunes, rather than submit to such ignominious terms ; and the clergy, in particular, promised to give the King their consecrated plate, towards continuing the war. Thus that mighty kingdom, generally thought to be wholly exhausted of its wealth, yet, when driven to a necessity by the imprudence of the allies, or by the corruption of particular men, who influenced their coun-

councils, recovered strength enough to support itself for three following campaigns : and in the last, by the fatal blindness or obstinacy of the *Dutch* (venturing to act without the assistance of *Britain*, which they had shamefully abandoned), was an overmatch for the whole confederate army.

Those who, in order to defend the proceedings of the allies, have given an account of this negociation, do wholly omit the circumstance I have now related, and express the zeal of the *British* and *Dutch* ministers for a peace, by informing us how frequently they sent after Mons. DE TORCY, and Mons. ROUILLE, for a farther conference. But in the mean time, Mr. HORATIO WALPOLE, Secretary to the Queen's plenipotentiaries, was dispatched over hither, to have those abortive articles signed and ratified by her Majesty at a venture, which was accordingly done. A piece of management altogether absurd, and without example ;

contrived only to deceive our people into a belief that a peace was intended, and to show what great things the ministry designed to do.

But this hope expiring, upon the news that *France* had refused to sign those articles, all was solved by recourse to the old topick of the *French* perfidiousness. We loaded them plentifully with ignominious appellations; they were a nation never to be trusted. The parliament cheerfully continued their supplies, and the war went on. The winter following began the second and last session of the preceding parliament, noted for the trial of Dr. SACHEVEREL, and the occasions thereby given to the people to discover and exert their dispositions, very opposite to the designs of those who were then in power. In the summer of One thousand seven hundred and ten, ensued a gradual change of the ministry; and in the beginning of that winter the present parliament was called.

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The King of *France*, whose real interests made him sincerely desirous of any tolerable peace, found it impossible to treat upon equal conditions with either of the two Maritime Powers engaged against him, because of the prevalency of factions in both, who acted in concert to their mutual private advantage, although directly against the general dispositions of the people in either, as well as against their several maxims of government. But upon the great turn of affairs and councils here in *England*, the new parliament and ministers acting from other motives, and upon other principles, that Prince hoped an opportunity might arise of resuming his endeavours towards a peace.

There was at this time in *England* a *French* ecclesiastick, called the Abbé GAULTIER, who had resided several years in *London*, under the protection of some foreign ministers, in whose families he used, upon occasion, to exercise his function of a priest. After the battle of *Blenheim*,

heim, this gentleman went down to *Nottingham*, where several *French* prisoners of quality were kept, to whom he rendered those offices of civility, suitable to persons in their condition, which, upon their return to *France*, they reported to his advantage. Among the rest, the Chevalier DE CROISSY told his brother, the Marquis DE TORCY, that whenever the *French* court would have a mind to make overtures of peace with *England*, Mons. GUALTIER might be very usefully employed in handing them to the ministers here. This was no farther thought on at present. In the mean time the war went on, and the conferences at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* miscarried, by the allies insisting upon such demands as they neither expected, nor perhaps desired, should be granted.

Some time in *July*, One thousand seven hundred and ten, Mons. GUALTIER received a letter from the Marquis DE TORCY, signifying, that a report being spread

spread of her Majesty's intentions to change her ministry, to take Mr. HARLEY into her councils, and to dissolve her parliament, the most Christian King thought it might be now a favourable conjuncture to offer new proposals of a treaty: Monf. GUALTIER was therefore directed to apply himself, in the Marquis's name, either to the Duke of SHREWSBURY, the Earl of JERSEY, or Mr. HARLEY, and inform the *French* court how such a proposition would be relished. GUALTIER chose to deliver his message to the second of those, who had been ambassador from the late King to *France*; but the Earl excused himself from entering into particulars with a stranger, and a private person, who had no authority for what he said, more than a letter from Monf. DE TORCY. GUALTIER offered to procure another from that minister to the Earl himself; and did so, in a month after: but obtained no answer till *December* following, when the
Queen

Queen had made all necessary changes, and summoned a free parliament to her wishes. About the beginning of *January*, the Abbé (after having procured his dismissal from Count GALLAS, the Emperor's envoy, at that time his protector) was sent to *Paris*, to inform Mons. TORCY, that her Majesty would be willing his master should resume the treaty with *Holland*, provided the demands of *England* might be previously granted. GUALTIER came back, after a short stay, with a return to his message, that the *Dutch* had used the most Christian King and his ministers in such a manner, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, as made that Prince resolve not to expose himself any more to the like treatment; that he therefore chose to address himself to *England*, and was ready to make whatever offers her Majesty could reasonably expect, for the advantage of her own kingdoms, and the satisfaction of her allies.

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After this message had been duly considered by the Queen and her ministers, Mons. GUALTIER was dispatched a second time to *France*, about the beginning of *March*, One thousand seven hundred and ten-eleven, with an answer to the following purpose: "That since *France* had their particular reasons for not beginning again to treat with *Holland*, *England* was willing to remove that difficulty, and proposed it should be done in this manner: That *France* should send over hither the propositions for a treaty, which should be transmitted by *England* to *Holland*, to be jointly treated on that side of the water; but it was to be understood, that the same proposition formerly offered to *Holland*, was to be made to *England*, or one not less advantageous to the allies; for although *England* would enter most sincerely into such a treaty, and shew, in the course of it, the clearness of their intentions; yet they could not, with honour, entertain a less be-

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neficial

neficial proposal than what was offered to the States."

That prince, as well as his minister, *Monf. DE TORCY*, either felt, or affected, so much resentment of the usage the latter had met at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, that they appeared fully determined against making any application to the States, where the same persons continued still in power, of whose treatment they so heavily complained. They seemed altogether to distrust the inclination of that republick towards a peace; but at the same time shewed a mighty complaisance to the *English* nation, and a desire to have her majesty at the head of a treaty. This appears by the first overture in form sent from that kingdom, and signed by *Monf. DE TORCY*, on the twenty-second of *April*, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven, to the following effect:

"That as it could not be doubted but
 "the King was in a condition of con-
 "tinuing

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"winning the war with honour, so it
 "could not be looked on as a mark of
 "weakness in his Majesty to break the
 "silence he had kept since the confe-
 "rences at *Gertruydenburg*; and that,
 "before the opening of the campaign,
 "he now gives farther proof of the de-
 "fire he always had to procure the repose
 "of *Europe*. But after what he hath
 "found, by experience, of the sentiments
 "of those persons who now govern
 "the republick of *Holland*, and of their
 "industry in rendering all negociations
 "without effect, his Majesty will, for the
 "publick good, offer to the *English* na-
 "tion those propositions, which he thinks
 "fit to make for terminating the war,
 "and for settling the tranquility of *Eu-*
 "*rope* upon a solid foundation. It is
 "with this view that he offers to enter
 "into a treaty of peace, founded on the
 "following conditions.

"First, The *English* nation shall have
 "real securities for carrying on their trade

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“ in *Spain*, the *Indies*, and ports of the
“ *Mediterranean*.

“ Secondly, The King will consent to
“ form a sufficient barrier in the Low
“ Countries, for the security of the re-
“ publicks of *Holland*; and this barrier
“ shall be such as *England* shall agree
“ upon and approve; his Majesty pro-
“ mising, at the same time, an intire
“ liberty and security to the trade of the
“ *Dutch*.

“ Thirdly, All reasonable methods
“ shall be thought on, with sincerity
“ and truth, for giving satisfaction to the
“ allies of *England* and *Holland*.

“ Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the
“ King of *Spain* are in so good a condi-
“ tion as to furnish new expedients for
“ putting an end to the disputes about
“ that monarchy, and for settling it to
“ the satisfaction of the several parties
“ concerned, all sincere endeavours shall
“ be used for surmounting the difficulties
“ arisen upon this occasion; and the
“ trade

“ trade and interest of all parties engaged
“ in the present war shall be secured.

“ Fifthly, The conferences, in order
“ to treat of a peace upon these condi-
“ tions, shall be immediately opened;
“ and the plenipotentiaries, whom the
“ King shall name to assist thereat, shall
“ treat with those of *England* and *Hol-*
“ *land*, either alone, or in conjunction
“ with those of their allies, as *England*
“ shall chuse.

“ Sixthly, His Majesty proposes the
“ towns of *Aix la Chapelle* or *Liege* for
“ the place where the plenipotentiaries
“ shall assemble, leaving the choice like-
“ wise to *England* of either of the said
“ towns, wherein to treat a general
“ peace.”

These overtures, although expressing
much confidence in the ministry here,
great deference to the Queen, and displea-
sure against the *Dutch*, were immediately
transmitted by her Majesty's command to
her ambassador in *Holland*, with orders,

that they should be communicated to the Pensionary. The Abbé GUALTIER was desired to signify this proceeding to the Marquis DE TORCY; at the same time to let that minister understand, that some of the above articles ought to be explained. The Lord RABY, now Earl of STRAFORD, was directed to tell the Pensionary, that her Majesty being resolved, in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States, would not lose a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance: that the Queen earnestly desired, that the secret might be kept among as few as possible; and that she hoped the Pensionary would advise upon this occasion with no person whatsoever, except such, as by the constitution of that government, are unavoidably necessary: that the terms of the several propositions were indeed too general; but, however, they contained an offer to treat: and that, although there appeared an air of complaisance to *England* through the whole paper,

paper, and the contrary to *Holland*, yet this could have no ill consequences, as long as the Queen and the States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers, so nearly allied in interest; which rule, on the part of *Britain*, should be inviolably observed. It was signified likewise to the Pensionary, that the Duke of MARLBOROUGH had no communication of this affair from *England*, and that it was supposed he would have none from the *Hague*.

After these proposals had been considered in *Holland*, the ambassador was directed to send back the opinion of the *Dutch* ministers upon them. The court here was, indeed, apprehensive, that the Pensionary would be alarmed at the whole frame of Monsieur DE TORCY's paper, and particularly at these expressions, that the *English* shall have real securities for their trade, &c. and that the barrier for the States-general shall be such as *England*

shall agree upon and approve. It was natural to think, that the fear which the *Dutch* would conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for *Britain*, might put them upon trying under-hand for themselves, and endeavouring to over-reach us in the management of the peace, as they had hitherto done in that of the war: the ambassador was therefore cautioned to be very watchful in discovering any workings, which might tend that way.

When the Lord RABY was first sent to the *Hague*, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and Lord TOWNSHEND, had, for very obvious reasons, used their utmost endeavours to involve him in as many difficulties as they could; upon which, and other accounts, needless to mention, it was thought proper, that his grace, then in *Flanders*, should not be let into the secret of this affair.

The proposal of *Aix* or *Liege* for a place of treaty, was only a farther mark of their old discontent against *Holland*, to shew

shew they would not name any town which belonged to the States.

The Pensionary having consulted those who had been formerly employed in the negotiations of peace, and enjoined them the utmost secrecy, to avoid the jealousy of the foreign ministers there; desired the ambassador to return her Majesty thanks, for the obliging manner of communicating the *French* overtures, for the confidence she placed in the States, and for her promise of making no stop towards a peace, but in concert with them, assuring her of the like on their part: that although the States endeavoured to hide it from the enemy, they were as weary of the war as we, and very heartily desirous of a good and lasting peace, as well as ready to join in any method, by which her Majesty should think proper, to obtain it: that the States looked upon these propositions as very dark and general; and they observed how the enemy would create jealousies between the Queen, their

their republick, and the other allies; but they were satisfied it would have no effect, and relied entirely on the justness and prudence of her Majesty, who they doubted not, would make the *French* explain themselves more particularly in the several points of their proposals, and send a plan of the particular conditions whereupon they would make a peace: after which, the States would be ready, either to join with her Majesty, or to make their objections, and were prepared to bring with them all the facility imaginable, towards promoting so good a work.

This is the sum of the verbal answer made by the Pensionary, upon communicating to him the *French* proposals; and I have chosen to set it down, rather than transcribe the other given to the ambassador some days after, which was more in form, and to the same purpose, but shorter, and in my opinion not so well discovering the true disposition of the *Dutch* ministers.

For

For after the Queen had transmitted the *French* overtures to *Holland*, and the States found her Majesty was bent in earnest upon the thoughts of a peace, they began to cast about how to get the negotiation into their own hands. They knew that whatever power received the first proposals, would be wise enough to stipulate something for themselves, as they had done in their own case, both at the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*, where they carved as they pleased, without any regard to the interests of their nearest allies. For this reason, while they endeavoured to amuse the *British* court with expostulations upon the several preliminaries sent from *France*, Monsieur PETECUM, a forward meddling agent of *Holstein*, who had resided some years in *Holland*, negotiated with HIENSIUS, the Grand pensionary, as well as with VANDERDUSSEN and BUYS, about restoring the conferences between *France* and that republick, broke off in *Gertruydenberg*. Pursuant to which, about the end

of *May*, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven, PETECUM wrote to the Marquis DE TORCY, with the privity of the Pensionary, and probably of the other two. The substance of his letter was to inform the Marquis, that things might easily be disposed, so as to settle a correspondence between that crown and the republick, in order to renew the treaty of peace. That this could be done with the greater secrecy, because Monsieur HIENSIUS, by virtue of his oath as Pensionary, might keep any affair private as long as he thought necessary, and was not obliged to communicate it, until he believed things were ripe ; and as long as he concealed it from his masters, he was not bound to discover it, either to the ministers of the Emperor, or those of her *British* Majesty. That since *England* thought it proper for King CHARLES to continue the whole campaign in *Catalonia*, (though he should be chosen Emperor) in order to support the war in
Spain,

Spain, it was necessary for *France* to treat in the most secret manner with the States, who were not now so violently, as formerly, against having PHILIP on the *Spanish* throne, upon certain conditions for securing their trade, but were jealous of *England's* design to fortify some trading towns in *Spain* for themselves. That HIENSIUS, extremely desired to get out of the war for some reasons, which he (PETECUM) was not permitted to tell; and that VANDERDUSSEN and BUYS were impatient to have the negotiations with *France* once more set on foot, which, if Monsieur TORCY thought fit to consent to, PETECUM engaged that the States would determine to settle the preliminaries, in the midway between *Paris* and the *Hague*, with whatever ministers the most Christian King should please to employ. But Monsieur TORCY refused this overture, and in his answer to Monsieur PETECUM, assigned for the reason the treatment his master's former proposals

fals had met with at the *Hayne* and *Gertruydenberg*, from the ministers of *Holland*. *Britain* and *Holland* seemed pretty well agreed, that those proposals were too loose and imperfect to be a foundation for entering upon a general treaty; and Monsieur GUALTIER was desired to signify to the *French* court, that it was expected they should explain themselves more particularly on the several articles.

But in the mean time the Queen was firmly resolved, that the interests of her own kingdoms should not be neglected at this juncture, as they had formerly twice been, while the *Dutch* were principal managers of a negotiation with *France*. Her Majesty had given frequent and early notice to the States, of the general disposition of her people towards a peace, of her own inability to continue the war upon the old foot, under the disadvantage of unequal quotas, and the universal backwardness of her allies. She had likewise informed them of several advances

vances made to her on the side of *France*, which she had refused to hearken to; till she had consulted with those, her good friends and confederates, and heard their opinion on that subject: but the *Dutch*, who apprehended nothing more than to see *Britain* at the head of a treaty, were backward and sullen, disliked all proposals by the Queen's intervention, and said it was a piece of artifice of *France* to divide the allies; besides, they knew the ministry was young, and the opposite faction had given them assurances, that the people of *England* would never endure a peace without *Spain*, nor the men in power dare to attempt it, after the resolutions of one house of parliament to the contrary. But, in the midst of this unwillingness to receive any overtures from *France* by the Queen's hands, the *Dutch* ministers were actually engaged in a correspondence with that court, where they urged our inability to begin a treaty, by reason of those factions which themselves had

had inflamed, and were ready to commence a negociation upon much easier terms than what they supposed we demanded. For not to mention the Duke of LORRAIN's interposition in behalf of *Holland*, which *France* absolutely refused to accept; the letters sent from the *Dutch* to that court, were shewn some months after to a *British* minister there, which gave much weight to Monsieur DE TORCY's insinuations; that he knew where to meet with more compliance, if the necessity of affairs should force him to it, by our refusal; and the violence of the States against our entertaining of that correspondence, was only because they knew theirs would never be accepted, at least till ours were thrown off.

The Queen, sensible of all this, resolved to provide for her own kingdoms; and having therefore prepared such demands for her principal allies, as might be a ground for proceeding to a general treaty, without pretending to adjust their
several

several interests. She resolved to stipulate in a particular manner the advantage of *Britain*: the following preliminary demands were accordingly drawn up; in order to be transmitted to *France*.

“ *Great Britain* will not enter into any negotiation of peace, otherwise than upon these conditions, obtained beforehand.

“ That the union of the two crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall be prevented: that satisfaction shall be given to all the allies, and trade settled and maintained.”

“ If *France* be disposed to treat upon this view, it is not to be doubted, that the following propositions will be found reasonable.

“ A Barrier shall be formed in the *Low Countries* for the States-general; and their trade shall be secured.

“ A Barrier likewise shall be formed for the Empire.

“ The pretensions of all the allies, founded upon former treaties, shall

H

“ be

“ be regulated and determined to their
“ general satisfaction.

“ In order to make a more equal balance of power in *Italy*, the dominions
“ and territories, which in the beginning of
“ the present war belonged to the Duke
“ of *Savoy*, and are now in the possession
“ of *France*, shall be restored to his royal
“ highness, and such other places in *Italy*
“ shall be yielded to him, as will be found
“ necessary and agreeable to the sense of
“ former treaties made with this prince.

“ As to *Great Britain* in particular, the
“ succession to the crown of the kingdoms,
“ according to the present establishment,
“ shall be acknowledged.

“ A new treaty of commerce between
“ *Great Britain* and *France* shall be made,
“ after the most just and reasonable manner.

“ *Dunkirk* shall be demolished; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* shall remain in
“ the hands of the present possessors.

“ The

“ The *English* shall have the Affiento
 “ in the same manner the *French* now
 “ enjoy it; and such places in the *Spanish*
 “ *West-Indies* shall be assigned to those
 “ concerned in this traffick, for the re-
 “ freshment and sale of their negroes, as
 “ shall be found necessary and convenient.

“ All advantages, rights, and privi-
 “ leges already granted, and which may
 “ hereafter be granted by *Spain* to the
 “ subjects of *France*, or to any other
 “ nation whatsoever, shall be equally
 “ granted to the subjects of *Great Bri-*
 “ *tain*.

“ And for better securing the *British*
 “ trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, certain
 “ places to be named in the treaty of
 “ peace, shall be put into possession of the
 “ *English*.

“ *Newfoundland*, with the *Bay* and
 “ *Streights of Hudson*, shall be entirely
 “ restored to the *English*; and *Great Bri-*
 “ *tain* and *France* shall severally keep
 “ and possess all those countries and terri-

“ territories in *North America*, which each of
 “ the said nations shall be in possession of
 “ at the time when the ratification of
 “ this treaty shall be published in those
 “ parts of the world.

“ These demands, and all other pro-
 cedings between *Great Britain*, shall
 “ be kept inviolably secret, until they are
 “ published by the mutual consent of both
 “ parties.”

The last article was not only intended for avoiding, if possible, the jealousy of the *Dutch*, but to prevent the clamours of the abettors here at home, who, under the pretended fears of our doing injustice to the *Dutch*, by acting without the privity of that republick, in order to make a separate peace, would be ready to drive on the worst designs against the Queen and ministry, in order to recover the power they had lost.

In *June*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, Mr. PRIOR, a person of great distinction, not only on account of his

wit, but for his abilities in the management of affairs, and who had been formerly employed at the *French* court, was dispatched thither by her Majesty with the foregoing demands. This gentleman was received at *Versailles* with great civility. The King declared, that no proceeding, in order to a general treaty, would be so agreeable to him as by the intervention of *England*; and that his Majesty, being desirous to contribute with all his power towards the repose of *Europe*, did answer to the demands which had been made,

“ That he would consent freely and
 “ sincerely to all just and reasonable me-
 “ thods, for hindering the crowns of
 “ *France* and *Spain* from being ever
 “ united under the same prince; his
 “ Majesty being persuaded, that such an
 “ excess of power would be as contrary
 “ to the general good and repose of *Eu-*
 “ *rope*, as it was opposite to the will of
 “ the late Catholick King CHARLES the
 “ second. He said his intention was,

“ that all parties in the present war should
 “ find their reasonable satisfaction in the
 “ intended treaty of peace ; and that trade
 “ should be settled and maintained for
 “ the future, to the advantage of those
 “ nations which formerly possessed it.

“ That as the King will exactly ob-
 “ serve the conditions of peace, whenever
 “ it shall be concluded ; and as the ob-
 “ ject he proposeth to himself, is to secure
 “ the frontiers of his own kingdom, with-
 “ out giving any sort of disturbance to his
 “ neighbours, he promiseth to agree, that
 “ by the future treaty of peace, the *Dutch*
 “ shall be put into possession of all ^{such} for-
 “ tified places as shall be specified in the
 “ said treaty to serve for a barrier to that
 “ republick, against all attempts on the
 “ side of *France*. He engages likewise
 “ to give all necessary securities, for re-
 “ moving the jealousies raised among the
 “ *German* princes of his Majesty's de-
 “ signs.

“ That

“ That when the conferences, in order
 “ to a general treaty, shall be formed, all
 “ the pretensions of the several princes
 “ and states engaged in the present war,
 “ shall be fairly and amicably discussed;
 “ nor shall any thing be omitted, which
 “ may regulate and determine them to
 “ the satisfaction of all parties.

“ That, pursuant to the demands
 “ made by *England*, his Majesty promises
 “ to restore to the Duke of SAVOY these
 “ demesnes and territories, which be-
 “ longed to that prince at the beginning
 “ of this war, and which his Majesty is
 “ now in possession of; and the King
 “ consents further, that such other places
 “ in *Italy* shall be yielded to the Duke
 “ of SAVOY, as shall be found necessary,
 “ according to the sense of those treaties
 “ made between the said Duke and his
 “ allies.

“ That the King’s sentiments of the
 “ present government of *Great Britain*,
 “ the open declaration he had made in

" *Holland* of his resolution to treat of
 " peace, by applications to the *English*;
 " the assurances he had given of engaging
 " the King of *Spain* to leave *Gibraltar* in
 their/ " our hands (all which are convincing
 " proofs of his perfect esteem for a na-
 " tion still in war with him); leave no
 " room to doubt of his Majesty's incli-
 " nation to give *England* all securities and
 " advantages for their trade, which they
 " can reasonably demand. But as his
 " Majesty cannot persuade himself, that
 " a government, so clear-sighted as ours,
 " will insist upon conditions which must
 " absolutely destroy the trade of *France*
 " and *Spain*, as well as that of all other
 " nations of *Europe*, he thinks the de-
 " mands made by *Great Britain* may re-
 " quire a more particular discussion.

" That, upon this foundation, the King
 " thought the best way of advancing and
 " perfecting a negotiation, the beginning
 " of which he had seen with so much
 " satisfaction, would be to send into *Eng-*
 " land

“ and a person instructed in his intention, and authorized by him to agree upon securities for settling the trade of the subjects of *England*; and those particular advantages to be stipulated in their favour, without destroying the trade of the *French* and *Spaniards*, or of other nations in *Christendom*.

“ That therefore his Majesty had charged the person chosen for this commission, to answer the other articles of the memorial given him by Mr. PRION, the secret of which should be exactly observed.”

Mons. DE TORCY had, for some years past, used all his endeavours to incline his master towards a peace, pursuant to the maxim of his uncle COLBERT, “ That a long war was not for the interest of *France*.” It was for this reason the King made choice of him in the conferences at the *Hague*; the bad success whereof, although it filled him with resentments against the *Dutch*, did not alter
“ his

his opinion: but he was violently opposed by a party both in the court and kingdom, who pretended to fear he would sacrifice the glory of the prince and country by too large concessions; or perhaps would rather wish that the first offers should have been still made to the *Dutch*, as a people more likely to be less solicitous about the interest of *Britain*, than her Majesty would certainly be for theirs: and the particular design of Mr. PRIOR was to find out, whether that minister had credit enough with his Prince, and a support from others in power, sufficient to over-rule the faction against peace.

Mr. PRIOR's journey could not be kept a secret, as the court here at first seemed to intend it. He was discovered at his return by an officer of the port at *Dover*, where he landed, after six weeks absence; upon which the *Dutch Gazettes* and *English News-papers* were full of speculations.

At

At the same time with Mr. PRIOR there arrived from *France* Mons. MESNAGER, Knight of the order of St. MICHAEL, and one of the council of Trade to the most Christian King. His commission was, in general, empowering him to treat with the minister of any prince engaged in the war against his master. In his first conferences with the Queen's ministers, he pretended orders to insist, that her Majesty should enter upon particular engagements in several articles, which did not depend upon her, but concerned only the interest of the allies reciprocally with those of the most Christian King; whereas the negociation had begun upon this principle, that *France* should consent to adjust the interests of *Great Britain* in the first place, whereby her Majesty would be afterwards enabled, by her good offices on all sides, to facilitate the general peace. The Queen resolved never to depart from this principle; but was absolutely determined to remit the
parti-

particular interests of the allies to general conferences, where she would do the utmost in her power to procure the repose of *Europe*, and the satisfaction of all parties. It was plain, *France* could run no hazard by this proceeding, because the preliminary articles would have no force before a general peace was signed; therefore it was not doubted but *Mons. MESNAGER* would have orders to wave this new pretension, and go on in treating upon that foot which was at first proposed. In short, the ministers required a positive and speedy answer to the articles in question, since they contained only such advantages and securities as her Majesty thought she had a right to require from any prince whatsoever, to whom the dominions of *Spain* should happen to fall.

The particular demands of *Britain* were formed into eight articles; to which *Mons. MESNAGER*, having transmitted to his court and received new powers from thence, had orders to give his master's con-

consent, by way of answers to the several points, to be obligatory only after a general peace. These demands, together with the answers of the *French King*, were drawn up and signed by Monsr. MESNAGER, and her Majesty's two principal Secretaries of state; whereof I shall here present an extract to the reader.

In the preamble the most Christian King sets forth, " That being particularly
 " informed by the last memorial which
 " the *British* ministers delivered to Monsr.
 " MESNAGER, of the dispositions of this
 " crown to facilitate a general peace, to
 " the satisfaction of the several parties
 " concerned; and his Majesty finding, in
 " effect, as the said memorial declares,
 " that he runs no hazard by engaging
 " himself in the manner there expressed,
 " since the preliminary articles will be of
 " no force, until the signing of the gene-
 " ral peace; and being sincerely desirous
 " to advance, to the utmost of his power,
 " the repose of *Europe*, especially by a
 " way

“ way so agreeable as the interposition of
 “ a Princess, whom so many ties of blood
 “ ought to unite to him, and whose sen-
 “ timents for the publick tranquillity can-
 “ not be doubted; his Majesty, moved by
 “ these considerations, hath ordered Mons.
 “ MRSNAGER, Knight, &c. to give the
 “ following answers, in writing, to the
 “ articles contained in the memorial trans-
 “ mitted to him, intituled, *Preliminary*
 “ *Demands for Great Britain in parti-*
 “ *cular.*”

The articles were these that follow.

“ First, The succession to the crown
 “ to be acknowledged, according to the
 “ present establishment.

“ Secondly, A new treaty of com-
 “ merce between *Great Britain* and
 “ *France* to be made, after the most just
 “ and reasonable manner.

“ Thirdly, *Dunkirk* to be demolished.

“ Fourthly, *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*
 “ to continue in the hands of those who
 “ now possess them.

“ Fifth-

“Fifthly, The Assiento (or liberty of
 “selling negroes to the *Spanish* West-
 “Indies) to be granted to the *English*, in
 “as full a manner as the *French* possess it
 “at present; and such places in the said
 “*West Indies* to be assigned to the persons
 “concerned in this trade, for the re-
 “freshment and sale of their negroes; as
 “shall be found necessary and conve-
 “nient.

“Sixthly, Whatever advantages, privi-
 “leges, and rights are already, or may
 “hereafter be, granted by *Spain* to the
 “subjects of *France*, or any other nation,
 “shall be equally granted to the subjects
 “of *Great Britain*.

“Seventhly, For better protecting their
 “trade in the *Spanish* West Indies, the
 “*English* shall be put into possession of
 “such places as shall be named in the
 “treaty of peace.

“Or, as an equivalent for this article,
 “that the Assiento be granted to *Britain*
 “for the term of thirty years. That the
 “

" *isle of St. Christopher's* he likewise secured to the *English*.

" That the advantages and exemption from duties, promised by Monsieur MESNAGER, which he affirms will amount to fifteen per cent. upon all goods of the growth and manufacture of *Great Britain*, be effectually allowed.

" That whereas, on the side of the river of *Plate*, the *English* are not in possession of any colony, a certain extent of territory be allowed them on the said river, for refreshing and keeping their Negroes, till they are sold to the *Spaniards*; subject, nevertheless, to the inspection of an officer appointed by *Spain*.

" Eighthly, *Newfoundland* and the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, shall be intirely restored to the *English*; and *Great Britain* and *France* shall respectively keep whatever dominions in *North America* each of them shall be in possession

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“ session of, when the ratification of this
“ treaty shall be published in those parts
“ of the world.”

The six first articles were allowed without any difficulty, except that about *Dunkirk*, where *France* was to have an equivalent, to be settled in a general treaty.

Difficulty arising upon the seventh article, the proposed equivalent was allowed instead thereof.

The last article was referred to the general treaty of peace, only the *French* insisted to have the power of fishing for cod, and drying them on the island of *Newfoundland*.

These articles were to be looked upon as conditions, which the most Christian King consented to allow; and whenever a general peace should be signed, they were to be digested into the usual form of a treaty, to the satisfaction of both crowns.

The Queen having thus provided for the security and advantage of her kingdoms, whenever a peace should be made, and upon terms no way interfering with the interest of her allies; the next thing in order, was to procure from *France* such preliminary articles, as might be a ground upon which to commence a general treaty. These were adjusted, and signed the same day with the former; and having been delivered to the several ministers residing here from the powers in alliance with *England*, were quickly made publick. But the various constructions and censures which passed upon them, have made it necessary to give the reader the following transcript:

“ The King being willing to contribute all that is in his power, to the re-establishing of the general peace, his Majesty declares,

“ I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain* in that quality,

“ as

“ as also the succession of that crown, according to the present settlement.

“ II. That he will freely, and *bond fide*, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures, for hindering that the crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the head of the same prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of *Europe*.

“ III. The King's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace, which shall be made: That commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of *Great Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other nations, who have been accustomed to exercise commerce.

“ IV. As the King will likewise maintain exactly the observation of the peace, when it shall be concluded, and the object, the King proposes to

“ himself, being to secure the frontiers of
 “ his kingdom, without disturbing in any
 “ manner whatever the neighbouring
 “ states, he promises to agree, by the
 “ treaty which shall be made, that the
 “ *Dutch* shall be put in possession of the
 “ fortified places, which shall be men-
 “ tioned, in the *Netherlands*, to serve here-
 “ after for a barrier; which may secure
 “ the quiet of the republick of *Holland*
 “ against any enterprize from the part of
 “ *France*.

“ V. The King consents likewise, that
 “ a secure and convenient barrier should
 “ be formed for the Empire, and for
 “ the house of AUSTRIA.

“ VI. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost
 “ the King very great sums, as well to
 “ purchase it, as to fortify it; and that it
 “ is further necessary to be at very confi-
 “ derable expence for razing the works,
 “ his Majesty is willing however to en-
 “ gage to cause them to be demolished,
 “ immediately after the conclusion of the
 “ peace,

“ peace, on condition, that, for the forti-
 “ fications of that place, a proper equi-
 “ valent, that may content him, be given
 “ him: And, as *England* cannot furnish
 “ that equivalent, the discussion of it shall
 “ be referred to the conferences to be held
 “ for the negotiation of the peace.

“ VII. When the conferences for the
 “ negotiation of the peace shall be
 “ formed, all the pretensions of the
 “ princes and states, engaged in the pre-
 “ sent war, shall be therein discussed
 “ *bond fide*, and amicably: And nothing
 “ shall be omitted to regulate and termi-
 “ nate them, to the satisfaction of all the
 “ parties.

MESNAGER.”

These overtures are founded upon the eighth article of the grand alliance, made in One thousand seven hundred and one; wherein are contained the conditions, without which a peace is not to be made; and whoever compares both, will find

the preliminaries to reach every point proposed in that article, which those who censured them at home, if they spoke their thoughts, did not understand: for nothing can be plainer, than what the publick hath often been told, that the recovery of *Spain* from the house of BOURBON was a thing never imagined, when the war began, but a just and reasonable satisfaction to the Emperor. Much less ought such a condition to be held necessary at present, not only because it is allowed on all hands to be impracticable, but likewise because, by the changes in the AUSTRIAN and BOURBON families, it would not be safe: neither did those, who were loudest in blaming the *French* preliminaries, know any thing of the advantages privately stipulated for *Britain*, whose interest, they assured us, were all made a sacrifice to the corruption or folly of the managers; and therefore, because the opposers of peace have been better informed by what they have since heard
and

and seen, they have changed their battery, and accused the ministers for betraying the *Dutch*.

The Lord RABY, her Majesty's ambassador at the *Hague*, having made a short journey to *England*, where he was created Earl of STRAFFORD, went back to *Holland* about the beginning of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven; with the above preliminaries, in order to communicate them to the Pensionary, and other ministers of the States. The Earl was instructed to let them know, " That
 " the Queen had, according to their desire, returned an answer to the first
 " propositions signed by Mons. TORCY,
 " signifying, that the *French* offers were
 " thought, both by her Majesty and the
 " States, neither so particular nor so full
 " as they ought to be; and insisting to
 " have a distinct project formed, of such
 " a peace as the most Christian King
 " would be willing to conclude: that
 " this affair having been for some time

" transacted by papers, and thereby sub-
 " ject to delays, *Mons. MESNAGER* was
 " at length sent over by *France*, and had
 " signed those preliminaries now commu-
 " nicated to them: that the several ar-
 " ticles did not, indeed, contain such par-
 " ticular concessions as *France* must and
 " will make in the course of a treaty;
 " but that, however, her Majesty thought
 " them a sufficient foundation whereon
 " to open the general conferences.

" That her Majesty was unwilling to
 " be charged with determining the several
 " interests of her allies, and therefore
 " contented herself with such general of-
 " fers as might include all the particular
 " demands, proper to be made during the
 " treaty; where the confederates must re-
 " solve to adhere firmly together, in order
 " to obtain from the enemy the utmost that
 " could be hoped for, in the present cir-
 " cumstances of affairs; which rule, her
 " Majesty assured the States, she would,
 " on her part, firmly observe."

If

If the ministers of *Holland* should express any uneasiness, that her Majesty may have settled the interests of her own kingdoms, in a future peace, by any private agreement, the ambassador was ordered to say, " That the Queen had hitherto
 " refused to have the treaty carried on in
 " her own kingdom, and would continue
 " to do so, unless they (the *Dutch*) constrained her to take another measure:
 " That by these means the States, and
 " the rest of the allies, would have the
 " opportunity of treating and adjusting
 " their different pretensions; which her
 " Majesty would promote with all the
 " zeal she had shewn for the common
 " good, and the particular advantage of
 " that republick (as they must do her the
 " justice to confess), in the whole course
 " of her reign: That the Queen had
 " made no stipulation for herself, which
 " might clash with the interests of *Hol-*
 " *land*; and that the articles to be in-
 " serted in a future treaty, for the benefit
 " of

" of *Britain*, were, for the most part,
 " such as contained advantages, which
 " must either be continued to the enemy,
 " or be obtained by her Majesty; but,
 " however, that no concession should
 " tempt her to hearken to a peace, unless
 " her good friends and allies the States
 " General had all reasonable satisfaction;
 " as to their trade and barrier, as well as
 " in all other respects."

After these assurances given in the
 Queen's name, the Earl was to insinuate,
 " That her Majesty should have just rea-
 " son to be offended, and to think the
 " proceeding between her and the States
 " very unequal; if they should pretend to
 " have any further uneasiness upon this
 " head: That being determined to accept
 " no advantages to herself, repugnant to
 " their interests, nor any peace, without
 " their reasonable satisfaction, the figure
 " she had made during the whole course
 " of the war, and the part she had acted,
 " superior to any of the allies, who were
 " more

“ more concerned in danger and interest,
 “ might justly intitle her to settle the
 “ concerns of *Great Britain*, before she
 “ would consent to a general negocia-
 “ tion.”

If the States should object the engagements the Queen was under, by treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the particular obligations of the Barrier-treaty, the ambassador was to answer, “ That, as to the former, her Majesty had not in any sort acted contrary thereto; That she was so far from making a peace without their consent; as to declare her firm resolution not to make it without their satisfaction; and that what had passed between *France* and her, amounted to no more than an introduction to a general treaty.” As to the latter, the Earl had orders to represent very earnestly, “ How much it was even for the interest of *Holland* itself, rather to compound the advantage of the Barrier-treaty, than to insist upon the whole,

“ whole, which the house of AUSTRIA,
 “ and several other allies, would never
 “ consent to: That nothing could be
 “ more odious to the people of *England*
 “ than many parts of this treaty; which
 “ would have raised universal indigna-
 “ tion, if the utmost care had not been
 “ taken to quiet the minds of those who
 “ were acquainted with the terms of that
 “ guaranty, and to conceal them from
 “ those who were not: That it was abso-
 “ lutely necessary to maintain a good har-
 “ mony between both nations, without
 “ which it would be impossible at any
 “ time to form a strength for reducing
 “ an exorbitant power, or preserving the
 “ balance of *Europe*: from whence it fol-
 “ lowed, that it could not be the true
 “ interest of either country to insist upon
 “ any conditions, which might give just
 “ apprehension to the other.

“ That *France* had proposed *Utrecht*,
 “ *Nimeguen*, *Aix*, or *Liege*, wherein to
 “ hold the general treaty; and her Ma-
 “ jesty

“ jesty was ready to send her plenipoten-
 “ tiaries, to which ever of those towns the
 “ States should approve.”

If the Imperial ministers, or those of
 the other allies, should object against
 the preliminaries as no sufficient ground
 for opening the conferences, and insist
 that *France* should consent to such articles
 as were signed on the part of the allies in
 the year One thousand seven hundred
 and nine, the Earl of STRAFFORD was
 in answer directed to insinuate, “ That
 “ the *French* might have probably been
 “ brought to explain themselves more
 “ particularly, had they not perceived the
 “ uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy
 “ among the allies, during our trans-
 “ actions with that court.” However, he
 should declare to them, in the Queen’s
 name, “ That if they were determined
 “ to accept of peace upon no terms in-
 “ ferior to what was formerly demanded,
 “ her Majesty was ready to concur with
 “ them; but would no longer bear those
 “ dif-

"disproportions of expence, yearly in-
 "creased upon her, nor the deficiency of
 "the confederates in every part of the
 "war: That it was therefore incumbent
 "upon them to furnish, for the future,
 "such quotas of ships and forces as they
 "were now wanting in, and to increase
 "their expence, while her Majesty re-
 "duced her's to a reasonable and just
 "proportion."

That if the ministers of *Vienna* and
Holland should urge their inability upon
 this head, the Queen insisted, "They
 "ought to comply with her in war or in
 "peace; her Majesty desiring nothing, as
 "to the first, but what they ought to
 "perform, and what is absolutely neces-
 "sary: and as to the latter, that she had
 "done, and would continue to do, the
 "utmost in her power towards obtaining
 "such a peace as might be to the satis-
 "faction of all her allies."

Some days after the Earl of STRAF-
 FORD's departure to *Holland*, M^{rs}. BUYS,

Pensionary of *Amsterdam*, arrived here from thence with instructions from his masters, to treat upon the subject of the *French* preliminaries, and the methods for carrying on the war. In his first conference with a committee of council, he objected against all the articles, as too general and uncertain; and against some of them, as prejudicial. He said, "The *French* promising that trade should be re-established and maintained for the future, " was meant in order to deprive the " *Dutch* of their tariff of One thousand " six hundred and sixty-four; for the " plenipotentiaries of that crown would " certainly expound the word *Retablir*, to " signify no more than restoring the trade " of the States to the condition it was in " immediately before the commencement " of the present war." He said, " That, " in the article of *Dunkirk*, the destruction of the harbour was not mentioned; " and that the fortifications were only to " be razed upon condition of an equivalent,

"lent, which might occasion a difference
 "between her Majesty and the States,
 "since *Holland* would think it hard to
 "have a town less in their barrier for
 "the demolition of *Dunkirk*; and *Eng-*
 "*land* would complain to have this thorn
 "continue in their side, for the sake of
 "giving one town more to the *Dutch*."

Lastly, he objected, "That where
 "the *French* promised effectual methods
 "should be taken to prevent the union
 "of *France* and *Spain* under the same
 "king, they offered nothing at all for the
 "cession of *Spain*, which was the most
 "important point of the war.

"For these reasons, *Monf. Buys* hoped
 "her Majesty would alter her measures,
 "and demand specifick articles, upon
 "which the allies might debate whether
 "they would consent to a negociation or
 "no."

The Queen, who looked upon all these
 difficulties, raised about the method of
 treating, as endeavours to wrest the nego-
 ciation

"ation out of her hands, commanded the
 "lords of the committee to let Mons. Buys
 "know, " That the experience she for-
 "merly had of proceeding by particular
 "preliminaries towards a general treaty,
 "gave her no encouragement to repeat
 "the same method any more: That such
 "a preliminary treaty must be negotiated
 "either by some particular allies, or by
 "all. The first, her Majesty could never
 "suffer, since she would neither take
 "upon her to settle the interests of others,
 "nor submit that others should settle
 "those of her own kingdoms. As to
 "the second, it was liable to Mons.
 "Buys's objection, because the ministers
 "of *France* would have as fair an oppor-
 "tunity of sowing division among the
 "allies, when they were all assembled
 "upon a preliminary treaty, as when the
 "conferences were open for a negotiation
 "of peace: That this method could
 "therefore have no other effect than to
 "delay the treaty, without any advant-

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" tage:

“tage: That her Majesty was heartily
 “disposed, both then and during the ne-
 “gociation, to insist on every thing neces-
 “sary for securing the barrier and com-
 “merce of the States; and therefore
 “hoped the conferences might be opened,
 “without farther difficulties.

“That her Majesty did not only con-
 “sent, but desire to have a plan settled
 “for carrying on the war, as soon as the
 “negociation of peace should begin;
 “but expected to have the burthen more
 “equally laid, and more agreeable to
 “treaties; and would join with the States
 “in pressing the allies to perform their
 “parts, as she had endeavoured to ani-
 “mate them by her example.”

Monf. Buys seemed to know little of
 his masters mind, and pretended he had
 no power to conclude upon any thing.
 Her Majesty's minister proposed to him
 an alliance between the two nations, to
 subsist after a peace. To this he hearkned
 very readily, and offered to take the mat-
 ter

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 131

ter *ad referendum*, having authority to do no more. His intention was, that he might appear to negotiate, in order to gain time to pick out, if possible, the whole secret of the transactions between *Britain* and *France*; to disclose nothing himself, nor bind his masters to any conditions; to seek delays till the parliament met, and then observe what turn it took, and what would be the issue of those frequent cabals between himself and some other foreign ministers, in conjunction with the chief leaders of the discontented faction.

The *Dutch* hoped, that the clamours raised against the proceedings of the Queen's ministers towards a peace, would make the parliament disapprove what had been done; whereby the States would be at the head of the negotiation; which the Queen did not think fit to have any more in their hands, where it had miscarried twice already; although Prince *EUGENE* himself owned, " that *France*

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" was

“ was then disposed to conclude a peace
 “ upon such conditions, as it was not
 “ worth the life of a grenadier to refuse
 “ them.” As to insisting upon specifick
 preliminaries, her Majesty thought her
 own method much better, for each ally,
 in the course of the negociation, to ad-
 vance and manage his own pretensions,
 wherein she would support and assist
 them, rather than for two ministers of
 one ally to treat solely with the enemy,
 and report what they pleased to the rest,
 as was practised by the *Dutch* at *Gertruy-*
denberg.

One part of Monf. Buys's instructions
 was to desire the Queen not to be so far
 amused by a treaty of peace, as to neglect
 her preparation for war against the next
 campaign. Her Majesty, who was firmly
 resolved against submitting any longer to
 that unequal burthen of expence she had
 hitherto lain under, commanded Mr. Se-
 cretary ST. JOHN to debate the matter
 with that minister, who said he had no
 power

power to treat; only insisted, that his masters had fully done their part, and that nothing but exhortations could be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour.

On the other side, the Queen refused to concert any plan for the prosecution of the war, till the States would join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; which therefore, by Mons. Buys's application to them, was accordingly done, by a resolution taken in *Holland* upon the twenty-first of *November*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, N. S.

About this time the Count DE GALLAS was forbid the court, by order from the Queen, who sent him word, that she looked upon him no longer as a publick minister.

This gentleman thought fit to act a very dishonourable part here in *England*, altogether inconsistent with the character he bore of envoy from the late and pre-

sent Emperors; two princes under the strictest ties of gratitude to the Queen, especially the latter, who had then the title of King of *Spain*. Count GALLAS, about the end of *August*, One thousand seven hundred and eleven, with the utmost privacy, dispatched an *Italian*, one of his clerks, to *Franckfort*, where the Earl of PETERBOROUGH was then expected. This man was instructed to pass for a *Spaniard*, and insinuate himself into the Earl's service; which he accordingly did, and gave constant information to the last Emperor's secretary at *Franckfort* of all he could gather up in his Lordship's family, as well as copies of several letters he had transcribed. It was likewise discovered that GALLAS had, in his dispatches to the present Emperor, then in *Spain*, represented the Queen and her ministers as not to be confided in: that when her Majesty had dismissed the Earl of SUNDERLAND, she promised to proceed no farther in the change of her servants;

yet

yet soon after turned them all out, and thereby ruined the publick credit, as well as abandoned *Spain*: that the present ministers wanted the abilities and good dispositions of the former; were persons of ill designs, and enemies to the common cause, and he (GALLAS) could not trust them. In his letters to Count ZINZENDORF he said, " That Mr. Secretary " ST. JOHN complained of the house of " AUSTRIA's backwardness, only to make " the King of *Spain* odious to *England*, " and the people here desirous of a peace, " although it were ever so bad one;" to prevent which, Count GALLAS drew up a memorial which he intended to give the Queen, and transmitted a draught of it to ZINZENDORF for his advice and approbation. This memorial, among other great promises to encourage the continuance of the war, proposed the detaching a good body of troops from *Hungary* to serve in *Italy* or *Spain*, as the Queen should think fit.

ZINZENDORF thought this too bold a step, without consulting the Emperor; to which GALLAS replied, that his design was only to engage the Queen to go on with the war; that ZINZENDORF knew how earnestly the *English* and *Dutch* had pressed to have these troops from *Hungary*, and therefore they ought to be promised, in order to quiet those two nations, after which several ways might be found to elude that promise; and, in the mean time, the great point would be gained of bringing the *English* to declare for continuing the war; that the Emperor might afterwards excuse himself, by apprehension of a war in *Hungary*, or of that between the *Turks* and *Muscovites*; that if these excuses should be at an end, a detachment of one or two regiments might be sent, and the rest deferred, by pretending want of money; by which the Queen would probably be brought to maintain some part of those troops, and perhaps the whole body. He added, that
this

this way of management was very common among the allies; and gave for an example, the forces which the *Dutch* had promised for the service of *Spain*, but were never sent; with several other instances of the same kind, which he said might be produced.

Her Majesty, who had long suspected that Count GALLAS was engaged in these and the like practices, having at last received authentick proofs of this whole intrigue, from original letters, and the voluntary confession of those who were principally concerned in carrying it on, thought it necessary to shew her resentment, by refusing the Count any more access to her person or her court.

Although the Queen, as it hath been already observed, were resolved to open the conferences upon the general preliminaries, yet she thought it would very much forward the peace to know what were the utmost concessions which *France* would make to the several allies, but
espe-

especially to the States General and the Duke of *Savoy*: therefore, while her Majesty was pressing the former to agree to a general treaty, the Abbé GUALTIER was sent to *France* with a memorial, to desire that the most Christian King would explain himself upon those preliminaries, particularly with relation to *Savoy* and *Holland*, whose satisfaction the Queen had most at heart, as well from her friendship to both these powers, as because, if she might engage to them that their just pretensions would be allowed, few difficulties would remain, of any moment, to retard the general peace.

The *French* answer to this memorial contained several schemes and proposals for the satisfaction of each ally, coming up very near to what her Majesty and her ministers thought reasonable. The greatest difficulties seemed to be about the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* appeared to be as much concerned, as the Queen was for those of the Duke
of

of *Savoy*: however, those were judged not very hard to be surmounted;

The States having at length agreed to a general treaty, the following particulars were concerted between her Majesty and that republick :

“ That the congress should be held at
 “ *Utrecht*; that the opening of the con-
 “ gress should be upon the twelfth of
 “ *January*, N. S. One thousand seven
 “ hundred and eleven-twelve.

“ That, for avoiding all inconveniences
 “ of ceremony, the ministers of the Queen
 “ and States, during the treaty, should
 “ only have the characters of plenipoten-
 “ tiaries, and not take that of ambassa-
 “ dors, till the day on which the peace
 “ should be signed.

“ Lastly, The Queen and States in-
 “ sisted, that the ministers of the Duke of
 “ *Anjou*, and the late Electors of *Bavaria*
 “ and *Cologne*, should not appear at the
 “ congress, until the points relating to
 “ their masters were adjusted; and were
 firm-

“ firmly resolved not to send their passports for the ministers of *France*, till the most Christian King declared, that the absence of the forementioned ministers should not delay the progress of the negotiation.”

Pursuant to the three former articles, her Majesty wrote circular letters to all the allies engaged with her in the present war: and *France* had notice, that as soon as the King declared his compliance with the last article, the blank passports should be filled up with the names of the *Maréchal D'UXELLES*, the *Abbé DE POLIGNAC*, and *Mons. MESNAGER*, who were appointed plenipotentiaries for that crown.

From what I have hitherto deduced, the reader sees the plan which the Queen thought the most effectual for advancing a peace. As the conferences were to begin upon the general preliminaries, the Queen was to be empowered by *France* to offer separately to the allies what might be reasonable for each to accept; and her own

own interests being previously settled, she was to act as a general mediator: a figure that became her best, from the part she had in the war, and more useful to the great end at which she aimed, of giving a safe and honourable peace to *Europe*.

Besides, it was absolutely necessary, for the interests of *Britain*, that the Queen should be at the head of the negociation, without which her Majesty could find no expedient to redress the injuries her kingdoms were sure to suffer by the Barrier-treaty. In order to settle this point with the States, the ministers here had a conference with Mons. Buys, a few days before the parliament met. He was told, "how necessary it was, by a previous concert between the Emperor, the Queen, and the States, to prevent any difference which might arise in the course of the treaty at *Utrecht*: That, under pretence of a barrier for the States General, as their security against *France*, infinite prejudice might arise to the trade of

" *Bri-*

“ *Britain* in the *Spanish Netherlands* ;
 “ for, by the fifteenth article of the
 “ Barrier-treaty, in consequence of what
 “ was stipulated by that of *Munster*, the
 “ Queen was brought to engage that com-
 “ merce shall not be rendered more easy,
 “ in point of duties, by the sea-ports of
 “ *Flanders*, than it is by the river *Scheld*,
 “ and by the canals on the side of the
 “ Seven Provinces, which, as things now
 “ stood, was very unjust ; for while the
 “ towns in *Flanders* were in the hands of
 “ *France* or *Spain*, the *Dutch* and we
 “ traded to them upon equal foot ; but
 “ now, since by the Barrier-treaty those
 “ towns were to be possessed by the States,
 “ that republick might lay what duties
 “ they pleased upon *British* goods, after
 “ passing by *Ostend*, and make their
 “ own custom-free, which would utterly
 “ ruin our whole trade with *Flanders*.”

Upon this, the Lords told Mr. Buys
 very frankly, “ That if the States expected
 “ the Queen should support their barrier,

“ as well as their demands from *France*
 “ and the house of *Austria* upon that
 “ head, they ought to agree, that the sub-
 “ jects of *Britain* should trade as freely to
 “ all the countries and places, which,
 “ by virtue of any former or future treaty,
 “ were to become the barrier of the States,
 “ as they did in the time of the late King
 “ CHARLES the second of *Spain*; or as
 “ the subjects of the States-General them-
 “ selves shall do: and that it was hoped,
 “ their High Mightinesses would never
 “ scruple to rectify a mistake so injurious
 “ to that nation, without whose blood and
 “ treasure they would have had no bar-
 “ rier at all.” Mons. Buys had nothing
 to answer against these objections, but
 said, he had already wrote to his masters
 for further instructions.

Greater difficulties occurred about set-
 tling what should be the barrier to the
 States after a peace: the envoy insisting
 to have all the towns that were named in
 the treaty of barrier and succession; and
 the

the Queen's ministers ~~expecting~~ those towns, which, if they continued in the hands of the *Dutch*, would render the trade of *Britain* to *Flanders* precarious. At length it was agreed in general, that the States ought to have what is really essential to the security of their barrier against *France*; and that some amicable expedient should be found, for removing the fears both of *Britain* and *Holland* upon this point.

But at the same time Mons. Buys was told, " That although the Queen would
 " certainly insist to obtain all those points
 " from *France*, in behalf of her allies the
 " States, yet she hoped his masters were
 " too reasonable to break off the treaty,
 " rather than not obtain the very utmost
 " of their demands, which could not be
 " settled here, unless he were fully in-
 " structed to speak and conclude upon
 " that subject: that her Majesty thought
 " the best way of securing the common
 " interest, and preventing the division of
 " the

“the allies, by the artifices of *France*, in
 “the course of a long negociation, would
 “be to concert between the Queen’s mi-
 “nisters and those of the States, with a
 “due regard to the other confederates,
 “such a plan as might amount to a safe
 “and honourable peace.” After which
 the Abbé POLIGNAC, who of the *French*
 plenipotentiaries was most in the secret of
 his court, might be told, “That it was
 “in vain to amuse each other any longer;
 “that on such terms the peace would be
 “immediately concluded; and that the
 “conferences must cease, if those condi-
 “tions were not, without delay, and with
 “expedition, granted.”

A treaty between her Majesty and the
 States, to subsist after a peace, was now
 signed, Monsr. Buys having received full
 powers to that purpose. His masters were
 desirous to have a private article added,
sub sperati, concerning those terms of
 peace; without the granting of which,
 we should stipulate not to agree with the

L enemy.

enemy. But neither the character of Buys, nor the manner in which he was impowered to treat, would allow the Queen to enter into such an engagement. The congress likewise approaching, there was not time to settle a point of so great importance. Neither, lastly, would her Majesty be tied down by *Holland*, without previous satisfaction upon several articles in the Barrier-treaty, so inconsistent with her engagements to other powers in the alliance, and so injurious to her own kingdoms.

The Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of STRAFFORD, having, about the time the parliament met, been appointed her Majesty's plenipotentiaries for treating a general peace, I shall here break off the account of any further progress made in that great affair, until I resume it in the last book of this History.

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.

BOOK III.

THE house of Commons seemed resolved, from the beginning of the session, to inquire strictly not only into all abuses relating to the accounts of the army, but likewise into the several treaties between us and our allies, upon what articles and conditions they were first agreed to, and how these had been since observed. In the first week of their sitting, they sent an address to the

Queen, to desire that the treaty, whereby her Majesty was obliged to furnish forty thousand men, to act in conjunction with the forces of her allies in the *Low Countries*, might be laid before the house. To which the Secretary of State brought an answer, "That search had been made, but "no foot-steps could be found of any treaty "or convention for that purpose." It was this unaccountable neglect in the former ministry, which first gave a pretence to the allies for lessening their quota's, so much to the disadvantage of her Majesty, her kingdoms, and the common cause, in the course of the war. It had been stipulated by the grand alliance, between the Emperor, *Britain*, and the States, that those three powers should assist each other with their whole force, and that the several proportions should be specified in a particular convention. But if any such convention were made, it was never ratified; only the parties agreed, by common consent, to take each a certain share of
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the burthen upon themselves, which the late King WILLIAM communicated to the house of Commons by his Secretary of State; and which afterwards the other two powers, observing the mighty zeal in our ministry for prolonging the war, eluded as they pleased.

The commissioners for stating the public accounts of the kingdom, had, in executing their office the preceding summer, discovered several practices relating to the affairs of the army, which they drew up in a report, and delivered to the house.

The Commons began their examination of the report with a member of their own, Mr. ROBERT WALPOLE, already mentioned; who, during his being secretary at war, had received five hundred guineas, and taken a note for five hundred pounds more, on account of two contracts for forage of the Queen's troops quartered in *Scotland*. He endeavoured to excuse the first contract; but had no-

thing to say about the second. The first appeared so plain and so scandalous to the Commons, that they voted the author of it guilty of a high breach of trust, and notorious corruption, committed him prisoner to the Tower, where he continued to the end of the session, and expelled him the house. He was a person much caressed by the opposers of the Queen and ministry, having been first drawn into their party by his indifference to any principles, and afterwards kept steady by the loss of his place. His bold, forward countenance, altogether a stranger to that infirmity which makes men bashful, joined to a readiness of speaking in publick, hath justly intitled him, among those of his faction, to be a sort of leader of the second form. The reader must excuse me for being so particular about one, who is otherwise altogether obscure.

Another part of the report concerned the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, who had received large sums of money, by way of
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gratuity, from those who were the undertakers for providing the army with bread. This the Duke excused, in a letter to the commissioners, from the like practice of other generals: but that excuse appeared to be of little weight, and the mischievous consequences of such a corruption were visible enough; since the money given by these undertakers were but bribes for connivance at their indirect dealings with the army. And as frauds, that begin at the top, are apt to spread through all the subordinate ranks of those who have any share in the management, and to increase as they circulate: so, in this case, for every thousand pounds given to the general, the soldiers at least suffered four-fold.

Another article of this report, relating to the Duke, was yet of more importance. The greatest part of her Majesty's forces in *Flanders* were mercenary troops, hired from several princes of *Europe*. It was found that the Queen's general subtracted

two and a half *per cent.* out of the pay of those troops, for his own use, which amounted to a great annual sum. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH, in his letter already mentioned, endeavouring to extenuate the matter, told the commissioners, "That this deduction was a free gift from the foreign troops, which he had negotiated with them by the late King's orders, and had obtained the Queen's warrant for reserving and receiving it: That it was intended for secret service, the ten thousand pounds a year given by parliament not proving sufficient, and had all been laid out that way."

The commissioners observed, in answer, "That the warrant was kept dormant for nine years, as indeed no entry of it appeared in the Secretary of State's books, and the deduction of it concealed all that time from the knowledge of parliament: That, if it had been a free gift from the foreign troops, it would not have been stipulated by
 " agree-

“ agreement, as the Duke’s letter con-
 “ fessed, and as his warrant declared,
 “ which latter affirmed this stoppage to
 “ be intended for defraying extraordinary
 “ contingent expences of the troops, and
 “ therefore should not have been ap-
 “ plied to secret services.” They submitted
 to the house, whether the warrant itself
 were legal, or duly counter-signed. The
 commissioners added, “ That no receipt
 “ was ever given for this deducted money,
 “ nor was it mentioned in any receipts
 “ from the foreign troops, which were al-
 “ ways taken in full. And lastly, That
 “ the whole sum, on computation, a-
 “ mounted to near three hundred thou-
 “ sand pounds.”

The house, after a long debate, re-
 solved, “ That the taking several sums
 “ from the contractors for bread by the
 “ Duke of MARLBOROUGH, was unwar-
 “ rantable and illegal; and that the two
 “ and a half *per cent.* deducted from the
 “ foreign troops, was publick money, and
 “ ought

“ought to be accounted for:” which resolutions were laid before the Queen by the whole house, and her Majesty promised to do her part in redressing what was complained of. The Duke and his friends had, about the beginning of the war, by their credit with the Queen, procured a warrant from her Majesty for this perquisite of two and a half *per cent*. The warrant was directed to the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, and counter-signed by Sir CHARLES HEDGES, then Secretary of State; by virtue of which the paymaster-general of the army was to pay the said deducted money to the general, and take a receipt in full from the foreign troops.

It was observed, as very commendable and becoming the dignity of such an assembly, that this debate was managed with great temper, and with few personal reflections upon the Duke of MARLBOROUGH. They seemed only desirous to come at the truth, without which they could not answer the trust reposed in them

them by those whom they represented, and left the rest to her Majesty's prudence. The Attorney-general was ordered to commence an action against the Duke for the substracted money, which would have amounted to a great sum, enough to ruin any private person, except himself. This process is still depending, although very moderately pursued, either by the Queen's indulgence to one whom she had formerly so much trusted, or perhaps to be revived or slackened, according to the future demeanour of the defendant.

Some time after, Mr. CARDONELL, a member of parliament, and secretary to the general in *Flanders*, was expelled the house, for the offence of receiving yearly bribes from those who had contracted to furnish bread for the army; and met with no further punishment for a practice, voted to be unwarrantable and corrupt.

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These were all the censures of any moment which the Commons, under so great a weight of business, thought fit to make, upon the reports of their commissioners for inspecting the publick accounts. But having promised, in the beginning of this History, to examine the state of the nation, with respect to its debts; by what negligence or corruption they first began, and in process of time made such a prodigious increase; and, lastly, what courses have been taken, under the present administration, to find out funds for answering so many unprovided incumbrances, as well as put a stop to new ones; I shall endeavour to satisfy the reader upon this important article.

By all I have yet read of the history of our own country, it appears to me, that the national debts, secured upon parliamentary funds of interest, were things unknown in *England* before the last revolution under the Prince of *Orange*. It is true, that in the grand rebellion the King's

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King's enemies borrowed money of particular persons, upon what they called the publick faith ; but this was only for short periods, and the sums no more than what they could pay at once, as they constantly did. Some of our kings have been very profuse in peace and war, and are blamed in history for their oppressions of the people by severe taxes, and for borrowing money which they never paid : but national debts was a style, which, I doubt, would hardly then be understood. When the Prince of *Orange* was raised to the throne, and a general war began in these parts of *Europe*, the King and his counsellors thought it would be ill policy to commence his reign with heavy taxes upon the people, who had lived long in ease and plenty, and might be apt to think their deliverance too dearly bought : wherefore one of the first actions of the new government was to take off the tax upon chimnies, as a burthen very ungrateful to the commonalty. But money
being

being wanted to support the war (which even the convention-parliament, that put the crown upon his head, were very unwilling he should engage in), the present Bishop of *Salisbury** is said to have found out that expedient (which he had learned in *Holland*) of raising money upon the security of taxes, that were only sufficient to pay a large interest. The motives which prevailed on people to fall in with this project were many, and plausible; for supposing, as the ministers industriously gave out, that the war could not last above one or two campaigns at most, it might be carried on with very moderate taxes; and the debts accruing would, in process of time, be easily cleared after a peace. Then the bait of large interest would draw in a great number of those whose money, by the dangers and difficulties of trade, lay dead upon their hands; and whoever were lenders to the

* Dr. GILBERT BURNET.

govern-

government, would, by surest principle, be obliged to support it. Besides, the men of estates could not be persuaded, without time and difficulty, to have those taxes laid on their lands, which custom hath since made so familiar; and it was the business of such as were then in power to cultivate a monied interest; because the gentry of the kingdom did not very much relish those new notions in government, to which the King, who had imbibed his politicks in his own country, was thought to give too much way. Neither perhaps did that prince think national incumbrances to be any evil at all, since the flourishing republick, where he was born, is thought to owe more than ever it will be able or willing to pay. And I remember, when I mentioned to Mons. Buys the many millions we owed, he would advance it as a maxim, that it was for the interest of the publick to be in debt; which perhaps may be true in a commonwealth so crazily instituted, where
the

the governors cannot have too many pledges of their subjects fidelity, and where a great majority must inevitably be undone by any revolution, however brought about : but to prescribe the same rules to a monarchy, whose wealth ariseth from the rents and improvements of lands, as well as trade and manufactures, is the mark of a confined and cramped understanding.

I was moved to speak thus, because I am very well satisfied, that the pernicious counsels of borrowing money upon publick funds of interest, as well as some other state-lessons, were taken indigested from the like practices among the *Dutch*, without allowing in the least for any difference in government, religion, law, custom, extent of country, or manners and dispositions of the people.

But when this expedient of anticipations and mortgages was first put in practice, artful men, in office and credit, began to consider what uses it might be
 I applied

applied to; and soon found it was likely to prove the most fruitful seminary, not only to establish a faction they intended to set up for their own support; but likewise to raise vast wealth for themselves in particular, who were to be the managers and directors in it. It was manifest, that nothing could promote these two designs so much, as burthening the nation with debts, and giving encouragement to lenders: for, as to the first, it was not to be doubted, that moneyed men would be always firm to the party of those who advised the borrowing upon such good security, and with such exorbitant premiums and interest; and every new sum that was lent, took away as much power from the landed men, as it added to theirs: so that the deeper the kingdom was engaged, it was still the better for them. Thus a new estate and property sprung up in the hands of mortgagees, to whom every house and foot of land in *England* paid a rent-charge, free of all

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taxes

taxes and defalcations, and purchased at less than half value. So that the gentlemen of estates were, in effect, but tenants to these new landlords; many of whom were able, in time, to force the election of boroughs out of the hands of those who had been the old proprietors and inhabitants. This was arrived ~~to~~ such a height, that a very few years more of war and funds would have clearly cast the balance on the monied side.

As to the second, this project of borrowing upon funds, was of mighty advantage to those who were in the management of it, as well as to their friends and dependants; for, funds proving often deficient, the government was obliged to strike tallies for making up the rest, which tallies were sometimes (to speak in the merchants phrase) at above forty *per cent.* discount. At this price those who were in the secret bought them up, and then took care to have that deficiency supplied in the next session of parliament, by which
 4 they

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they doubled their principal in a few months; and, for the encouragement of lenders, every new project of lotteries or annuities proposed some farther advantage, either as to interest or premium.

In the year One thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, a general mortgage was made of certain revenues and taxes already settled, which amounted to near a million a year. This mortgage was to continue till One thousand seven hundred and six, to be a fund for the payment of about five millions one hundred thousand pounds. In the first parliament of the Queen, the said mortgage was continued till One thousand seven hundred and ten, to supply a deficiency of two millions three hundred thousand pounds, and interest of above a million; and in the intermediate years a great part of that fund was branched out into annuities for ninety-nine years; so that the late ministry raised all their money to One thousand seven hundred and ten, only by continuing funds

M 2

which

which were already granted to their hands. This deceived the people in general, who were satisfied to continue the payments they had been accustomed to, and made the administration seem easy, since the war went on without any new taxes raised, except the very last year they were in power; not considering what a mighty fund was exhausted, and must be perpetuated, although extremely injurious to trade, and to the true interest of the nation.

This great fund of the general mortgage was not only loaded, year after year, by mighty sums borrowed upon it, but with the interests due upon those sums; for which the Treasury was forced to strike tallies, payable out of that fund, after all the money already borrowed upon it, there being no other provision of interest for three or four years: till at last the fund was so overloaded, that it could neither pay principal nor interest, and tallies

lies were struck for both, which occasioned their great discount.

But to avoid mistakes upon a subject, where I am not very well versed either in the style or matter, I will transcribe an account sent me by a person * who is thoroughly instructed in these affairs.

“ In the year One thousand seven hundred and seven, the sum of eight hundred twenty-two thousand three hundred and eighty-one pounds, fifteen shillings and six pence, was raised, by continuing part of the general mortgage from One thousand seven hundred and ten to One thousand seven hundred and twelve; but with no provision of interest till *August* the first, One thousand seven hundred and ten, otherwise than by striking tallies for it on that fund, payable after all the other money borrowed.

“ In One thousand seven hundred and eight, the same funds were continued

* Sir JOHN BLUNT.

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from

“ from One thousand seven hundred and
 “ twelve to One thousand seven hundred
 “ and fourteen, to raise seven hundred
 “ twenty - nine thousand sixty - seven
 “ pounds fifteen shillings and six pence;
 “ but no provision for interest till *August*
 “ the first, One thousand seven hundred
 “ and twelve, otherwise than as before,
 “ by striking tallies for it on the same
 “ fund, payable after all the rest of the
 “ money borrowed. And the discount of
 “ tallies then beginning to rise, great part
 “ of that money remains still unraised;
 “ and there is nothing to pay interest for
 “ the money lent, till *August* the first,
 “ One thousand seven hundred and twelve.
 “ But the late Lord Treasurer struck tal-
 “ lies for the full sum directed by the act
 “ to be borrowed, great part of which
 “ have been delivered in payment to the
 “ Navy and Victualling-offices, and some
 “ are still in the hands of the govern-
 “ ment,

“ In

“ In One thousand seven hundred and
 “ nine, part of the same fund was con-
 “ tinued from *August* the first, One thou-
 “ sand seven hundred and fourteen, to
 “ *August* the first, One thousand seven
 “ hundred and sixteen, to raise six hun-
 “ dred forty-five thousand pounds; and
 “ no provision for Interest till *August* the
 “ first, One thousand seven hundred and
 “ fourteen (which was about five years),
 “ but by borrowing money on the same
 “ fund, payable after the sums before
 “ lent; so that little of that money was
 “ lent. But the tallies were struck for
 “ what was unlent, some of which were
 “ given out for the payment of the Navy
 “ and Victualling, and some still remain
 “ in the hands of the government.

“ In One thousand seven hundred and
 “ ten, the sums which were before given
 “ from One thousand seven hundred and
 “ fourteen, to One thousand seven hun-
 “ dred and sixteen, were continued from
 “ thence to One thousand seven hundred

“ and twenty, to raise one million two
 “ hundred and ninety-six thousand five
 “ hundred and fifty-two pounds nine
 “ shillings and eleven pence three farth-
 “ ings; and no immediate provision for
 “ interest till *August* the first, One thou-
 “ sand seven hundred and sixteen, only,
 “ after the duty of one shilling *per*
 “ bushel on salt should be cleared from
 “ the money it was then charged with,
 “ and which was not so cleared till *Mid-*
 “ *summer* One thousand seven hundred
 “ and twelve last, then that fund was to
 “ be applied to pay the interest till *August*
 “ the first, One thousand seven hundred
 “ and sixteen, which interest amounted
 “ to about seventy-seven thousand seven
 “ hundred and ninety-three pounds *per*
 “ *annum*: and the said salt fund pro-
 “ duceth but about fifty-five thousand
 “ pounds *per annum*; so that no money
 “ was borrowed upon the general mort-
 “ gage in One thousand seven hundred
 “ and ten, except one hundred and fifty
 “ thou-

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“ thousand pounds lent by the *Swiss*
“ Cantons ; but tallies were struck for
“ the whole sum. These all remained
“ in the late Treasurer’s hands at the time
“ of his removal, yet the money was ex-
“ pended, which occasioned those great
“ demands upon the commissioners of the
“ Treasury who succeeded him, and were
“ forced to pawn those tallies to the
“ Bank, or to remitters, rather than sell
“ them at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.*
“ discount, as the price then was. About
“ two hundred thousand pounds of them
“ they paid to clothiers of the army, and
“ others ; and all the rest, being above
“ ninety thousand pounds, have been sub-
“ scribed into the South-sea company for
“ the use of the publick.”

When the Earl of GODOLPHIN was removed from his employment, he left a debt upon the Navy of millions, all contracted under his administration, which had no parliament-security, and was daily increased. Neither could I ever learn, whether

whether that lord had the smallest prospect of clearing this incumbrance, or whether there were policy, negligence, or despair at the bottom of this unaccountable management. But the consequences were visible and ruinous; for by this means Navy-bills grew to be forty *per cent.* discount, and upwards; and almost every kind of stores, bought by the Navy and Victualling-offices, cost the government double rates, and sometimes more: so that the publick hath directly lost several millions upon this one article, without any sort of necessity, that I could ever hear assigned by the ablest vindicators of that party.

In this oppressed and intangled state was the kingdom, with relation to its debts, when the Queen removed the Earl of GODOLPHIN from his office, and put it into commission, of which the present Treasurer was one. This person had been chosen Speaker successively to three parliaments, was afterwards Secretary of State,

State, and always in great esteem with the Queen for his wisdom and fidelity. The late ministry, about two years before their fall, had prevailed with her Majesty, much against her inclination, to dismiss him from her service; for which they cannot be justly blamed, since he had endeavoured the same thing against them, and very narrowly failed; which makes it the more extraordinary that he should succeed in a second attempt against those very adversaries, who had such fair warning by the first. He is firm and steady in his resolutions, not easily diverted from them after he hath once possessed himself of an opinion that they are right, nor very communicative where he can act by himself, being taught by experience, that a secret is seldom safe in more than one breast. That which occurs to other men after mature deliberation, offers to him as his first thoughts; so that he decides immediately what is best to be done, and therefore is seldom at a loss upon sudden
exi-

exigencies. He thinks it a more easy and safe rule in politicks to watch incidents as they come, and then turn them to the advantage of what he pursues, than pretend to foresee them at a great distance. Fear, cruelty, avarice, and pride, are wholly strangers to his nature; but he is not without ambition. There is one thing peculiar in his temper, which I altogether disapprove, and do not remember to have heard or met with in any other man's character: I mean, an easiness and indifference under any imputation, although he be never so innocent, and although the strongest probabilities and appearance are against him; so that I have known him often suspected by his nearest friends, for some months, in points of the highest importance, to a degree, that they were ready to break with him, and only undeceived by time and accident. His detractors, who charge him with cunning, are but ill acquainted with his character; for, in the sense they take

take the word, and as it is usually understood, I know no man to whom that mean talent could be with less justice applied, as the conduct of affairs, while he hath been at the helm, doth clearly demonstrate, very contrary to the nature and principles of cunning, which is always employed in serving little turns, proposing little ends, and supplying daily exigencies by little shifts and expedients. But to rescue a prince out of the hands of insolent subjects, bent upon such designs as must probably end in the ruin of the government; to find out means for paying such exorbitant debts as this nation hath been involved in, and reduce it to a better management; to make a potent enemy offer advantageous terms of peace, and deliver up the most important fortress of his kingdom, as a security; and this against all the opposition, mutually raised and inflamed by parties and allies; such performances can only be called cunning by those whose want of understanding, or
of

of candour, puts them upon finding ill names for great qualities of the mind, which themselves do neither possess, nor can form any just conception of. However, it must be allowed, that an obstinate love of secrecy in this minister seems, at distance, to have some resemblance of cunning; for he is not only very retentive of secrets, but appears to be so too, which I number amongst his defects. He hath been blamed by his friends for refusing to discover his intentions, even in those points where the wisest man may have need of advice and assistance; and some have censured him, upon that account, as if he were jealous of power: but he hath been heard to answer, "That he seldom did otherwise, without cause to repent."

However, so undistinguished a caution cannot, in my opinion, be justified, by which the owner loseth many advantages, and whereof all men, who deserved to be confided in, may with some reason complain. His love of procrastination
(where-

(wherein doubtless nature hath her share) may probably be increased by the same means; but this is an imputation laid upon many other great ministers, who, like men under too heavy a load, let fall that which is of the least consequence, and go back to fetch it when their shoulders are free; for time is often gained, as well as lost, by delay, which at worst is a fault on the securer side. Neither probably is this minister answerable for half the clamour raised against him upon that article: his endeavours are wholly turned upon the general welfare of his country, but perhaps with too little regard to that of particular persons, which renders him less amiable, than he would otherwise have been from the goodness of his humour, and agreeable conversation in a private capacity, and with few dependers. Yet some allowance may perhaps be given to this failing, which is one of the greatest he hath, since he cannot be more careless of other men's fortunes than he is of his own.

own. He is master of a very great and faithful memory, which is of mighty use in the management of publick affairs; and I believe there are few examples to be produced in any age, of a person who hath passed through so many employments in the state, endowed with a great share, both of divine and human learning.

I am persuaded that foreigners, as well as those at home, who live too remote from the scene of business to be rightly informed, will not be displeased with this account of a person, who in the space of two years, hath been so highly instrumental in changing the face of affairs in *Europe*, and hath deserved so well of his own prince and country.

In that perplexed condition of the publick debts, which I have already described, this minister was brought into the Treasury and Exchequer, and had the chief direction of affairs. His first regulation was that of exchequer bills,
which,

which, to the great discouragement of publick credit, and scandal to the crown, were three *per cent.* less in value than the sums specified in them. The present Treasurer, being then chancellor of the Exchequer, procured an act of parliament, by which the Bank of *England* should be obliged, in consideration of forty-five thousand pounds, to accept and circulate those bills without any discount. He then proceeded to stop the depredations of those who dealt in remittances of money to the army, who, by unheard-of exactions in that kind of traffick, had amassed prodigious wealth at the publick cost, to which the Earl of GODOLPHIN had given too much way, * *possibly by neglect; for I think he cannot be accused of corruption.*

But the new Treasurer's chief concern was to restore the credit of the nation, by finding some settlement for unprovided debts, amounting in the whole to ten mil-

* Added in the author's own hand-writing.

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lions,

lions, which hung on the publick as a load equally heavy and disgraceful, without any prospect of being removed, and which former ministers never had the care or courage to inspect. He resolved to go at once to the bottom of this evil ; and having computed and summed up the debt of the navy, and victualling, ordnance, and transport of the army, and transport debentures made out for the service of the last war, of the general mortgage-tallies for the year One thousand seven hundred and ten, and some other deficiencies, he then found out a fund of interest sufficient to answer all this, which, being applied to other uses, could not raise present money for the war, but in a very few years would clear the debt it was engaged for. The intermediate accruing interest was to be paid by the Treasurer of the navy ; and, as a farther advantage to the creditors, they should be erected into a company for trading to the South-seas, and for encouragement of
fish-

fishery. When all this was fully prepared and digested, he made a motion in the house of Commons (who deferred extremely to his judgment and abilities) for paying the debts of the Navy, and other unprovided deficiencies, without entering into particulars, which was immediately voted. But a sudden stop was put to this affair by an unforeseen accident. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (which was then his title) being stabbed with a penknife, the following day, at the Cockpit, in the midst of a dozen lords of the council, by the *Sieur DE GUICARD*, a *French* papist; the circumstances of which fact being not within the compass of this history, I shall only observe, that after two months confinement, and frequent danger of his life, he returned to his seat in parliament *.

The overtures made by this minister, of paying so vast a debt, under the pres-

* See the particular account in the Examiner.

fures of a long war, and the difficulty of finding supplies for continuing it, was, during the time of his illness, ridiculed by his enemies as an impracticable and visionary project: and when, upon his return to the house, he had explained his proposal, the very proprietors of the debt were, many of them, prevailed on to oppose it; although the obtaining this trade, either through *Old Spain*, or directly to the *Spanish* West-Indies, had been one principal end we aimed at by this war. However, the bill passed; and, as an immediate consequence, the Naval bills rose to about twenty *per cent.* nor never fell within ten of their discount. Another good effect of this work appeared by the parliamentary lotteries, which have been since erected. The last of that kind, under the former ministry, was eleven weeks in filling; whereas the first, under the present, was filled in a very few hours, although it cost the government less; and the others, which followed, were full before

fore the acts concerning them could pass. And to prevent incumbrances of this kind from growing for the future, he took care, by the utmost parsimony, or by suspending payments, where they seemed less to press, that all stores for the Navy should be bought with ready money; by which *cent. per cent.* hath been saved in that mighty article of our expence, as will appear from an account taken at the Victualling-office on the ninth of *August*, One thousand seven hundred and twelve. And the payment of the interest was less a burthen upon the Navy, by the stores being bought at so cheap a rate.

It might look invidious to enter into farther particulars upon this head, but of smaller moment. What I have above related, may serve to shew in how ill a condition the kingdom stood, with relation to its debts, by the corruption as well as negligence of former management; and what prudent, effectual measures have

since been taken to provide for old incumbrances, and hinder the running into new. This may be sufficient for the information of the reader, perhaps already tired with a subject so little entertaining as that of accounts: I shall therefore now return to relate some of the principal matters that passed in parliament, during this session.

Upon the eighteenth of *January* the house of Lords sent down a bill to the Commons, for fixing the precedence of the HANOVER family, which probably had been forgot in the acts for settling the succession of the crown. That of HENRY VIII. which gives the rank to princes of the blood, carries it no farther than to nephews, nieces, and grand-children of the crown; by virtue of which the Princess SOPHIA is a princess of the blood, as niece to King CHARLES I. of *England*, and precedes accordingly; but this privilege doth not descend to her son the Elector, or the Electoral Prince. To
supply

supply which defect, and pay a compliment to the presumptive heirs of the crown, this bill, as appeareth by the preamble, was recommended by her Majesty to the house of Lords; which the Commons, to shew their zeal for every thing that might be thought to concern the interest or honour of that illustrious family, ordered to be read thrice, and passed *nemine contradicente*, and returned to the Lords, without any amendment, on the very day it was sent down.

But the house seemed to have nothing more at heart than a strict inquiry into the state of the nation, with respect to foreign alliances. Some discourses had been published in print, about the beginning of the session, boldly complaining of certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, concluded about three years since by the Lord Viscount TOWNSEND, between *Great Britain* and the States General; and shewing, in many particulars, the unequal conduct of these powers in our alliance,

in furnishing their quotas and supplies. It was asserted by the same writers, "That these hardships, put upon *England*, had been countenanced and encouraged by a party here at home, in order to preserve their power, which could be no otherwise maintained than by continuing the war, as well as by her Majesty's general abroad, upon account of his own peculiar interest and grandeur." These loud accusations spreading themselves throughout the kingdom, delivered in facts directly charged, and thought, whether true or not, to be but weakly confuted, had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people; and, by putting arguments into every body's mouth, had filled the town and country with controversies, both in writing and discourse. The point appeared to be of great consequence, whether the war continued or not: for, in the former case, it was necessary that the allies should be brought to a more equal regulation; and that the

States

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States in particular, for whom her Majesty had done such great things, should explain and correct those articles in the Barrier-treaty which were prejudicial to *Britain*; and, in either case, it was fit the people should have at least the satisfaction of knowing by whose counsels, and for what designs, they had been so hardly treated.

In order to this great inquiry, the Barrier-treaty, with all other treaties and agreements entered into between her Majesty and her allies, during the present war, for the raising and augmenting the proportions for the service thereof, were, by the Queen's directions, laid before the house.

Several resolutions were drawn up, and reported at different times, upon the deficiencies of the allies in furnishing their quotas, upon certain articles in the Barrier-treaty, and upon the state of the war; by all which it appeared, that whatever had been charged by publick discourses in

print against the late ministry, and the conduct of the allies, was much less than the truth. Upon these resolutions (by one of which the Lord Viscount TOWNSEND, who negotiated and signed the Barrier-treaty, was declared an enemy to the Queen and kingdom), and upon some farther directions to the committee, a representation was formed; and soon after the Commons in a body presented it to the Queen, the endeavours of the adverse party not prevailing to have it recommended.

This representation (supposed to be the work of Sir THOMAS HANMER's pen) is written with much energy and spirit, and will be a very useful authentick record, for the assistance of those who at any time shall undertake to write the History of the present times.

I did intend, for brevity sake, to have given the reader only an abstract of it; but, upon trial, found myself unequal to such a task, without injuring so excellent

a piece. And although I think historical relations are but ill patched up with long transcripts already printed, which, upon that account, I have hitherto avoided; yet this being the sum of all debates and resolutions of the house of Commons in that great affair of the war, I conceived it could not be well omitted.

“ Most gracious Sovereign,

“ We your Majesty’s most dutiful and
 “ loyal subjects, the Commons of *Great*
 “ *Britain* in parliament assembled, having
 “ nothing so much at heart, as to enable
 “ your Majesty to bring this long and ex-
 “ pensive war to an honourable and happy
 “ conclusion, have taken it into our most
 “ serious consideration, how the necessary
 “ supplies to be provided by us may be
 “ best applied; and how the common
 “ cause may in the most effectual manner
 “ be carried on, by the united force of
 “ the whole confederacy; we have
 “ thought ourselves obliged, in duty to
 “ your

“ your Majesty, and in discharge of the
 “ trust reposed in us, to inquire into the
 “ true state of the war, in all its parts, we
 “ have examined what stipulations have
 “ been entered into between your Ma-
 “ jesty and your allies; and how far such
 “ engagements have on each side been
 “ made good. We have considered the
 “ different interests which the confede-
 “ rates have in the success of this war,
 “ and the different shares they have con-
 “ tributed to its support: we have with
 “ our utmost care and diligence endea-
 “ voured to discover the nature, extent,
 “ and charge of it, to the end, that by
 “ comparing the weight thereof with our
 “ own strength, we might adapt the one
 “ to the other in such measure, as neither
 “ to continue your Majesty’s subjects un-
 “ der a heavier burthen, than in reason
 “ and justice they ought to bear; nor de-
 “ ceive your Majesty, your allies, and our-
 “ selves, by undertaking more than the
 “ nation

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“ nation in its present circumstances is
“ able to perform.

“ Your Majesty has been graciously
“ pleased, upon our humble applications,
“ to order such materials to be laid before
“ us, as have furnished us with the neces-
“ sary information upon the particulars
“ we have inquired into; and when we
“ shall have laid before your Majesty our
“ observations, and humble advice upon
“ this subject, we promise to ourselves
“ this happy fruit from it, that if your
“ Majesty's generous and good purposes,
“ for the procuring a safe and lasting peace,
“ should, through the obstinacy of the
“ enemy, or by any other means, be un-
“ happily defeated, a true knowledge and
“ understanding of the past conduct of the
“ war will be the best foundation for a
“ more frugal and equal management of
“ it for the time to come.

“ In order to take the more perfect
“ view of what we proposed, and that
“ we might be able to set the whole be-
“ fore

" fore your Majesty in a true light, we
 " have thought it necessary to go back to
 " the beginning of the war, and beg leave
 " to observe the motives and reasons,
 " upon which his late Majesty King WIL-
 " LIAM first engaged in it. The treaty
 " of the Grand Alliance, explains those
 " reasons to be for the supporting the pre-
 " tensions of his Imperial Majesty, then
 " actually engaged in a war with the
 " *French* King, who had usurped the in-
 " tire *Spanish* monarchy for his grandson
 " the Duke of ANJOU; and for the assist-
 " ing the States General, who, by the loss
 " of their barrier against *France*, were
 " then in the same, or a more dangerous
 " condition, than if they were actually
 " invaded. As these were the just and
 " necessary motives for undertaking this
 " war, so the ends proposed to be ob-
 " tained by it, were equally wise and
 " honourable; for as they are set forth in
 " the eighth article of the same treaty,
 " they appear to have been *the procuring*

“ *an equitable and reasonable satisfaction*
 “ *to his Imperial Majesty, and sufficient*
 “ *securities for the dominions, provinces,*
 “ *navigation, and commerce of the King of*
 “ *Great Britain, and the States General,*
 “ *and the making effectual provision, that*
 “ *the two kingdoms of France and Spain*
 “ *should never be united under the same go-*
 “ *vernment; and particularly, that the*
 “ *French should never get into the pos-*
 “ *session of the Spanish West Indies, or*
 “ *be permitted to sail thither, upon the*
 “ *account of traffick, or under any pre-*
 “ *tence whatsoever; and lastly, the se-*
 “ *curing to the subjects of the King of*
 “ *Great Britain, and the States General,*
 “ *all the same privileges, and rights of*
 “ *commerce, throughout the whole do-*
 “ *minions of Spain, as they enjoyed before*
 “ *the death of CHARLES the II^d. King of*
 “ *Spain, by virtue of any treaty, agree-*
 “ *ment, or custom, or any other way*
 “ *whatsoever. For the obtaining these*
 “ *ends, the three confederated powers*
 “ en-

“ engaged to assist one another with their
 “ whole force, according to such propor-
 “ tions as should be specified in a parti-
 “ cular convention, afterwards to be made
 “ for that purpose : we do not find that
 “ any such convention was ever ratified ;
 “ but it appears, that there was an agree-
 “ ment concluded, which, by common
 “ consent, was understood to be binding
 “ upon each party respectively, and ac-
 “ cording to which the proportions of
 “ *Great Britain* were from the beginning
 “ regulated and founded. The terms of
 “ that agreement were, That for the ser-
 “ vice at land, his Imperial Majesty should
 “ furnish ninety thousand men, the King
 “ of *Great Britain* forty thousand, and
 “ the States General one hundred and two
 “ thousand; of which there were forty-
 “ two thousand intended to supply their
 “ garrisons, and sixty thousand to act
 “ against the common enemy in the field;
 “ and with regard to the operations of the
 “ war at sea, they were agreed to be per-
 “ formed

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formed jointly by *Great Britain* and the States General, the quota of ships to be furnished for that service being five eighths on the part of *Great Britain*, and three eighths on the part of the States General.

Upon this foot, the war began in the year One thousand seven hundred and two, at which time the whole yearly expence of it to *England* amounted to three millions, seven hundred, and six thousand four hundred ninety-four pounds; a very great charge, as it was then thought by your Majesty's subjects, after the short interval of ease they had enjoyed from the burden of the former war, but yet a very moderate proportion, in comparison with the load which hath since been laid upon them: for it appears, by estimates given in to your Commons, that the sums necessary to carry on the service for this present year, in the same manner as it was performed the last year, amount to more
O than

“ than fix millions nine hundred and
 “ fixty thousand pounds, besides interest
 “ for the publick debts, and the deficien-
 “ cies accruing the last year, which two
 “ articles require one million one hun-
 “ dred and forty-three thousand pounds
 “ more: so that the whole demands upon
 “ your Commons are arisen to more than
 “ eight millions for the present annual
 “ supply. We know your Majesty’s ten-
 “ der regard for the welfare of your
 “ people, will make it uneasy to you to
 “ hear of so great a pressure as this upon
 “ them; and as we are assured, it will
 “ fully convince your Majesty of the ne-
 “ cessity of our present inquiry; so we
 “ beg leave to represent to you, from
 “ what causes, and by what steps, this
 “ immense charge appears to have grown
 “ upon us,

“ The service at sea, as it has been very
 “ large and extensive in itself, so it has
 “ been carried on, through the whole
 “ course of the war, in a manner highly
 “ disad-

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“disadvantageous to your Majesty and
“your kingdom: for the necessity of
“affairs requiring that great fleets should
“be fitted out every year, as well for the
“maintaining a superiority in the *Medi-*
“*terranean*, as for opposing any force
“which the enemy might prepare, either
“at *Dunkirk*, or in the ports of *West*
“*France*, your Majesty’s example and
“readiness in fitting out your proportion
“of ships, for all parts of that service,
“have been so far from prevailing with
“the States General to keep pace with
“you, that they have been deficient every
“year to a great degree, in proportion to
“what your Majesty hath furnished;
“sometimes no less than two thirds, and
“generally more than half of their quota:
“from hence your Majesty has been
“obliged, for the preventing disappoint-
“ments in the most pressing service, to
“supply those deficiencies by additional
“reinforcements of your own ships; nor
“hath the single increase of such a charge

" been the only ill consequence that at-
 " tended it; for by this means the debt of
 " the navy hath been increased, so that
 " the discounts arising upon the credit of
 " it have affected all other parts of the
 " service, from the same cause. Your
 " Majesty's ships of war have been forced
 " in greater numbers to continue in re-
 " mote seas, and at unseasonable times of
 " the year, to the great damage and de-
 " cay of the *British* navy. This also hath
 " been the occasion that your Majesty
 " hath been streightened in your convoys
 " for trade; your coasts have been ex-
 " posed, for want of a sufficient number
 " of cruisers to guard them; and you have
 " been disabled from annoying the enemy,
 " in their most beneficial commerce with
 " the *West Indies*, from whence they re-
 " ceived those vast supplies of treasure,
 " without which they could not have
 " supported the expences of this war.

" That part of the war which hath
 " been carried on in *Flanders*, was at first
 " imme-

“ immediately necessary to the security of
 “ the States General, and hath since
 “ brought them great acquisitions, both
 “ of revenue and dominion; yet even
 “ there the original proportions have been
 “ departed from, and, during the course
 “ of the war, have been sinking by de-
 “ grees on the part of *Holland*; so that in
 “ this last year, we find the number in
 “ which they fell short of their three
 “ fifths, to your Majesty’s two fifths, have
 “ been twenty thousand eight hundred
 “ and thirty-seven men: we are not un-
 “ mindful, that in the year One thousand
 “ seven hundred and three, a treaty was
 “ made between the two nations, for a
 “ joint augmentation of twenty thousand
 “ men, wherein the proportions were va-
 “ ried, and *England* consented to take
 “ half upon itself. But it having been
 “ annexed as an express condition to the
 “ grant of the said augmentation in par-
 “ liament, that the States General should
 “ prohibit all trade and commerce with

“ *France*, and that condition having not
 “ been performed by them, the Com-
 “ mons think it reasonable, that the first
 “ rule of three to two ought to have
 “ taken place again, as well in that as in
 “ other subsequent augmentations, more
 “ especially when they consider, that the
 “ revenues of those rich provinces which
 “ have been conquered, would, if they
 “ were duly applied, maintain a great
 “ number of new additional forces against
 “ the common enemy; notwithstanding
 “ which, the States General have raised
 “ none upon that account, but make use
 “ of those fresh supplies of money, only to
 “ ease themselves in the charge of their
 “ first established quota.

“ As in the progress of the war in *Flan-*
 “ *ders*, a disproportion was soon created
 “ to the prejudice of *England*; so the
 “ very beginning of the war in *Portugal*,
 “ brought an unequal share of burden
 “ upon us; for although the Emperor
 “ and the States General were equally
 “ parties

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“ parties with your Majesty in the treaty
“ with the King of *Portugal*, yet the Em-
“ peror neither furnishing his third part
“ of the troops and subsidies stipulated
“ for, nor the *Dutch* consenting to take
“ an equal share of his Imperial Majesty’s
“ defect upon themselves, your Majesty
“ hath been obliged to furnish two thirds
“ of the intire expence created by that
“ service. Nor has the inequality stopped
“ there; for ever since the year One thou-
“ sand seven hundred and six, when the
“ *English* and *Dutch* forces marched out
“ of *Portugal* into *Castile*, the States Ge-
“ neral have intirely abandoned the war
“ in *Portugal*, and left your Majesty to
“ prosecute it singly at your own charge,
“ which you have accordingly done, by
“ replacing a greater number of troops
“ there, than even at first you took upon
“ you to provide. At the same time your
“ Majesty’s generous endeavours for the
“ support and defence of the King of
“ *Portugal*, have been but ill seconded by
“ O 4 “ that

“ that prince himself; for notwithstanding
 “ ing that by his treaty he had obliged
 “ himself to furnish twelve thousand foot;
 “ and three thousand horse, upon his own
 “ account, besides eleven thousand foot,
 “ and two thousand horse more, in con-
 “ sideration of a subsidy paid him; yet,
 “ according to the best information your
 “ commons can procure, it appears, that
 “ he hath scarce at any time furnished
 “ thirteen thousand men in the whole.

“ In *Spain* the war hath been yet more
 “ unequal, and burdensome to your Ma-
 “ jesty, than in any other branch of it;
 “ for being commenced without any
 “ treaty whatsoever, the allies have al-
 “ most wholly declined taking any part of
 “ it upon themselves. A small body of
 “ *English* and *Dutch* troops were sent thi-
 “ ther in the year One thousand seven
 “ hundred and five, not as being thought
 “ sufficient to support a regular war, or to
 “ make the conquest of so large a coun-
 “ try; but with a view only of assisting
 “ the

“ the *Spaniards* to set King CHARLES
 “ upon the throne; occasioned by the
 “ great assurances which were given of
 “ their inclinations to the house of AUS-
 “ TRIA: but this expectation failing,
 “ *England* was insensibly drawn into an
 “ established war, under all the disad-
 “ vantages of the distance of the place,
 “ and the feeble efforts of the other allies.
 “ The account we have to lay before
 “ your Majesty, upon this head, is, that
 “ although the undertaking was entered
 “ upon at the particular and earnest re-
 “ quest of the Imperial court, and for a
 “ cause of no less importance and concern
 “ to them, than the reducing the *Spanish*
 “ monarchy to the house of AUSTRIA;
 “ yet neither the late Emperors, nor his
 “ present Imperial Majesty, have ever
 “ had any forces there on their account,
 “ till the last year; and then, only one
 “ regiment of foot, consisting of two
 “ thousand men. Though the States Ge-
 “ neral have contributed something more
 “ to

“ to this service, yet their share also hath
“ been inconsiderable ; for in the space of
“ four years, from One thousand seven
“ hundred and five, to One thousand seven
“ hundred and eight, both inclusive, all
“ the forces they have sent into that
“ country have not exceeded twelve thou-
“ sand two hundred men ; and from the
“ year One thousand seven hundred and
“ eight to this time, they have not sent
“ any forces or recruits whatsoever. To
“ your Majesty’s care and charge, the re-
“ covery of that kingdom hath been in a
“ manner wholly left, as if none else
“ were interested or concerned in it. And
“ the forces which your Majesty hath
“ sent into *Spain*, in the space of seven
“ years, from One thousand seven hun-
“ dred and five, to One thousand seven
“ hundred and eleven, both inclusive,
“ have amounted to no less than fifty-
“ seven thousand nine hundred seventy-
“ three men, besides thirteen battalions
“ and eighteen squadrons, for which your
“ Ma-

“ Majesty hath paid a subsidy to the Em-
 “ peror.

“ How great the established expence of
 “ a number of men hath been, your Ma-
 “ jesty very well knows, and your Com-
 “ mons very sensibly feel ; but the weight
 “ will be found much greater, when it is
 “ considered how many heavy articles of
 “ unusual and extraordinary charge have
 “ attended this remote and difficult ser-
 “ vice, all which have been entirely de-
 “ frayed by your Majesty, except that one
 “ of transporting the few forces, which
 “ were sent by the States General, and the
 “ victualling of them during their trans-
 “ portation only. The accounts delivered
 “ to your Commons shew, that the charge
 “ of your Majesty’s ships and vessels, em-
 “ ployed in the service of the war in *Spain*
 “ and *Portugal*, reckoned after the rate
 “ of four pounds a man *per* month, from
 “ the time they sailed from hence, till
 “ they returned, were lost, or put upon
 “ other services, hath amounted to six
 “ mil-

“ millions five hundred forty thousand
 “ nine hundred and sixty-six pounds four-
 “ teen shillings: the charge of transports
 “ on the part of *Great Britain*, for carry-
 “ ing on the war in *Spain* and *Portugal*,
 “ from the beginning of it till this time,
 “ hath amounted to one million three
 “ hundred thirty-six thousand seven hun-
 “ dred and nineteen pounds, nineteen
 “ shillings, and eleven-pence; that of
 “ victualling land-forces for the same ser-
 “ vice, to five hundred eighty-three thou-
 “ sand seven hundred and seventy pounds,
 “ eight shillings, and six-pence; and that
 “ of contingencies, and other extraordina-
 “ ries for the same service, to one million
 “ eight hundred forty thousand three hun-
 “ dred and fifty-three pounds.

“ We should take notice to your Ma-
 “ jesty of several sums paid upon account
 “ of contingencies, and extraordinaries in
 “ *Flanders*, making together the sum of
 “ one million one hundred seven thou-
 “ sand and ninety-six pounds: but we
 “ are

"are not able to make any comparifon of
 "them, with what the States General have
 "expended upon the fame head, having
 "no fuch ftate of their extraordinary
 "charge before us. There remains there-
 "fore but one particular more for your
 "Majefty's obfervation, which arifes from
 "the fubfidies paid to foreign princes.
 "Thefe, at the beginning of the war,
 "were borne in equal proportion by your
 "Majefty, and the States General ; but in
 "this inftance alfo, the balance hath been
 "caft in prejudice of your Majefty : for
 "it appears, that your Majefty hath fince
 "advanced more than your equal propor-
 "tion, three millions one hundred and
 "fifty-five thoufand crowns, befides ex-
 "traordinaries paid in *Italy*, and not in-
 "cluded in any of the foregoing articles,
 "which arife to five hundred thirty-nine
 "thoufand five hundred and fifty-three
 "pounds.

"We have laid thefe feveral particulars
 "before your Majefty in the fhorteft man-
 "ner

“ner we have been able ; and by an est-
 “timate grounded on the preceding facts,
 “it does appear, that over and above the
 “quotas on the part of *Great Britain*,
 “answering to those contributed by your
 “allies, more than nineteen millions have
 “been expended by your Majesty, during
 “the course of this war, by way of sur-
 “plusage, or exceeding in balance, of
 “which none of the confederates have
 “furnished any thing whatsoever.

“It is with very great concern, that we
 “find so much occasion given us, to represent
 “how ill an use hath been made of your
 “Majesty’s and your subjects zeal for the
 “common cause ; that the interest of that
 “cause hath not been proportionably pro-
 “moted by it, but others only have been
 “eased at your Majesty’s and your sub-
 “jects cost, and have been connived at, in
 “laying their part of the burthen upon
 “this kingdom, although they have upon
 “all accounts been equally, and in most
 “respects, much more nearly concerned
 “than

“ than *Britain* in the issue of the war.
 “ We are persuaded your Majesty will
 “ think it pardonable in us, with some
 “ resentment to complain of the little re-
 “ gard, which some of those, whom your
 “ Majesty of late years intrusted, have
 “ shewn to the interests of their country;
 “ in giving way, at least, to such unrea-
 “ sonable impositions upon it, if not in
 “ some measure contriving them. The
 “ course of which impositions hath been
 “ so singular and extraordinary, that the
 “ more the wealth of this nation hath
 “ been exhausted, and the more your Ma-
 “ jesty’s arms have been attended with
 “ success, the heavier hath been the bur-
 “ then laid upon us; whilst on the other
 “ hand, the more vigorous your Majesty’s
 “ efforts have been, and the greater the
 “ advantages which have redounded thence
 “ to your allies, the more those allies have
 “ abated in their share of the expence.

“ At the first entrance into this war, the
 “ Commons were induced to exert them-
 “ selves.

“ selves in the extraordinary manner they
 “ did; and to grant such large supplies, as
 “ had been unknown to former ages, in
 “ hopes thereby to prevent the mischiefs
 “ of a lingering war, and to bring that,
 “ in which they were necessarily engaged,
 “ to a speedy conclusion ; but they have
 “ been very unhappy in the event, whilst
 “ they have so much reason to suspect,
 “ that what was intended to shorten the
 “ war, hath proved the very cause of its
 “ long continuance ; for those, to whom
 “ the profits of it have accrued, have not
 “ been disposed easily to forego them.
 “ And your Majesty will from thence
 “ discern *the true reason, why so many have*
 “ *delighted in a war, which brought in so*
 “ *rich an harvest yearly from Great Bri-*
 “ *tain.*

“ We are far from desiring, as we
 “ know your Majesty will be from con-
 “ cluding any peace, but upon safe and
 “ honourable terms ; and we are far from
 “ intending to excuse ourselves from raising
 “ all

“ all necessary and possible supplies, for an
 “ effectual prosecution of the war, till such
 “ a peace can be obtained : all that your
 “ faithful Commons aim at, all that they
 “ wish, is an equal concurrence from the
 “ other powers, engaged in alliance with
 “ your Majesty ; and a just application of
 “ what hath been already gained from
 “ the enemy, towards promoting the
 “ common cause. Several large countries
 “ and territories have been restored to the
 “ house of *Austria*, such as the kingdom
 “ of *Naples*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and
 “ other places in *Italy* ; others have been
 “ conquered, and added to their domi-
 “ nions, as the two electorates of *Bavaria*
 “ and *Cologne*, the dutchy of *Mantua*, and
 “ the bishoprick of *Liege* ; these having
 “ been reduced in great measure by our
 “ blood and treasure, may, we humbly
 “ conceive, with great reason, be claimed
 “ to come in aid towards carrying on the
 “ war in *Spain*. And therefore we make
 “ it our earnest request to your Majesty,

P

“ that

“ that you will give instructions to your
 “ ministers, to insist with the Emperor,
 “ that the revenues of those several places,
 “ excepting only such a portion thereof as
 “ is necessary for their defence, be actually
 “ so applied : and as to the other parts of
 “ the war, to which your Majesty hath
 “ obliged yourself by particular treaties to
 “ contribute, we humbly beseech your
 “ Majesty, that you will be pleased to
 “ take effectual care, that your allies do
 “ perform their parts stipulated by those
 “ treaties ; and that your Majesty will, for
 “ the future, no otherwise furnish troops,
 “ or pay subsidies, than in proportion to
 “ what your allies shall actually furnish
 “ and pay : when this justice is done to
 “ your Majesty, and to your people, there
 “ is nothing which your Commons will
 “ not cheerfully grant, towards supporting
 “ your Majesty in the cause in which you
 “ are engaged. And whatever farther
 “ shall appear to be necessary for carry-
 “ ing on the war, either at sea or land, we
 “ will

“ will effectually enable your Majesty to
 “ bear your reasonable share of any such
 “ expence, and will spare no supplies
 “ which your subjects are able, with their
 “ utmost efforts to afford.

“ After having enquired into, and con-
 “ sidered the state of the war, in which
 “ the part your Majesty has borne, ap-
 “ pears to have been, not only superior to
 “ that of any one ally, but even equal to
 “ that of the whole confederacy ; your
 “ Commons naturally inclined to hope,
 “ that they should find care had been
 “ taken of securing some particular ad-
 “ vantages to *Britain*, in the terms of a
 “ future peace ; such as might afford a
 “ prospect of making the nation amends,
 “ in time, for that immense treasure
 “ which has been expended, and those
 “ heavy debts which have been contract-
 “ ed, in the course of so long and bur-
 “ thenfome a war. This reasonable ex-
 “ pectation could no way have been better
 “ answered, than by some provision made

“ for the further security, and the great
 “ improvement of the commerce of *Great*
 “ *Britain*; but we find ourselves so very
 “ far disappointed in these hopes, that in a
 “ treaty not long since concluded between
 “ your Majesty and the States General,
 “ under a colour of a mutual guarantee,
 “ given for two points of the greatest im-
 “ portance to both nations, the succession,
 “ and the barrier; it appears, the interest
 “ of *Great Britain* hath been not only
 “ neglected, but sacrificed; and that se-
 “ veral articles in the said treaty, are de-
 “ structive to the trade and welfare of this
 “ kingdom, and therefore highly disho-
 “ nourable to your Majesty.

“ Your Commons observe, in the first
 “ place, that several towns and places are,
 “ by virtue of this treaty, to be put into
 “ the hands of the States General, parti-
 “ cularly *Newport*, *Dendermond*, and the
 “ castle of *Ghent*, which can in no sense
 “ be looked upon as a part of a barrier
 “ against *France*, but being the keys of
 “ the

“ the *Netherlands* towards *Britain*, must
 “ make the trade of your Majesty’s sub-
 “ jects in those parts precarious, and when-
 “ ever the States think fit, totally exclude
 “ them from it. The pretended necessity
 “ of putting these places into the hands
 “ of the States General, in order to se-
 “ cure to them a communication with
 “ their barrier, must appear vain and
 “ groundless; for the sovereignty of the
 “ *Low Countries* being not to remain to
 “ an enemy, but to a friend and an ally,
 “ that communication must be always se-
 “ cure and uninterrupted; besides that,
 “ in case of a rupture, or an attack, the
 “ States have full liberty allowed them to
 “ take possession of all the *Spanish Nether-*
 “ *lands*, and therefore needed no particu-
 “ lar stipulation for the towns above-
 “ mentioned.

“ Having taken notice of this conces-
 “ sion, made to the States General, for
 “ seizing upon the whole ten provinces;
 “ we cannot but observe to your Majesty,

" that in the manner this article is framed,
 " it is another dangerous circumstance
 " which attends this treaty; for had such
 " a provision been confined to the care of
 " an apparent attack from *France* only,
 " the avowed design of this treaty had
 " been fulfilled, and your Majesty's in-
 " structions to your ambassador had been
 " pursued; but this necessary restriction
 " hath been omitted, and the same liberty
 " is granted to the States, to take posses-
 " sion of all the *Netherlands*, whenever
 " they shall think themselves attacked by
 " any other neighbouring nation, as when
 " they shall be in danger from *France*; so
 " that if it should at any time happen
 " (which your Commons are very unwill-
 " ing to suppose) that they should quarrel,
 " even with your Majesty, the riches,
 " strength, and advantageous situation of
 " these countries, may be made use of
 " against yourself, without whose gene-
 " rous and powerful assistance they had
 " never been conquered.

" To

" To return to those ill consequences
 " which relate to the trade of your king-
 " doms, we beg leave to observe to your
 " Majesty, that though this treaty revives,
 " and tenders your Majesty a party to the
 " fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the
 " treaty of *Munster*, by virtue of which,
 " the impositions upon all goods and mer-
 " chandizes brought into the *Spanish* Low
 " Countries by the sea, are to equal those
 " laid on goods and merchandizes im-
 " ported by the *Scheld*, and the canals of
 " *Sass* and *Swynn*, and other mouths of
 " the sea adjoining ; yet no care is taken
 " to preserve that equality upon the ex-
 " portation of those goods out of the *Spa-*
 " *nish* provinces, into those countries and
 " places, which, by virtue of this treaty,
 " are to be in the possession of the States ;
 " the consequence of which must in time
 " be, and your Commons are informed,
 " that in some instances it has already
 " proved to be the case, that the imposi-
 " tions upon goods carried into those

“ countries and places, by the subjects of
 “ the States General, will be taken off,
 “ while those upon the goods imported by
 “ your Majesty’s subjects remain : by
 “ which means, *Great Britain* will en-
 “ tirely lose this most beneficial branch
 “ of trade, which it has in all ages been
 “ possessed of, even from the time when
 “ those countries were governed by the
 “ house of *Burgundy*, one of the most an-
 “ tient, as well as the most useful allies
 “ to the crown of *England*.

“ With regard to the other dominions
 “ and territories of *Spain*, your Majesty’s
 “ subjects have always been distinguished
 “ in their commerce with them, and both
 “ by antient treaties, and an uninterrupted
 “ custom, have enjoyed greater privileges
 “ and immunities of trade, than either
 “ the *Hollanders*, or any other nation
 “ whatsoever. And that wise and excel-
 “ lent treaty of the Grand Alliance, pro-
 “ vides effectually for the security and
 “ continuance of these valuable privileges
 “ to

“ to *Britain*, in such a manner, as that
 “ each nation might be left, at the end of
 “ the war, upon the same foot as it stood
 “ at the commencement of it: but this
 “ treaty we now complain of, instead of
 “ confirming your subjects rights, surren-
 “ ders and destroys them; for although by
 “ the sixteenth and seventeenth articles of
 “ the treaty of *Munster*, made between
 “ his Catholick Majesty and the States
 “ General, all advantages of trade are sti-
 “ pulated for, and granted to the *Hol-*
 “ *landers*, equal to what the *English* en-
 “ joyed; yet the crown of *England* not
 “ being a party to that treaty, the subjects
 “ of *England* have never submitted to
 “ those articles of it, nor even the *Spa-*
 “ *niards* themselves ever observed them;
 “ but this treaty revives those articles in
 “ prejudice of *Great Britain*, and makes
 “ your Majesty a party to them, and even
 “ a guarantee to the States General, for
 “ privileges against your own people.

“ In

“ In how deliberate and extraordinary
 “ a manner your Majesty’s ambassador
 “ consented to deprive your subjects of
 “ their ancient rights, and your Majesty
 “ of the power of procuring to them any
 “ new advantage, most evidently appears
 “ from his own letters, which, by your
 “ Majesty’s directions, have been laid be-
 “ fore your Commons: for when matters
 “ of advantage to your Majesty, and to
 “ your kingdom, had been offered, as
 “ proper to be made parts of this treaty,
 “ they were refused to be admitted by the
 “ States General; upon this reason and
 “ principle, that nothing foreign to the
 “ guaranties of the succession; and of the
 “ barrier, should be mingled with them;
 “ notwithstanding which, the States Ge-
 “ neral had no sooner received notice of a
 “ treaty of commerce concluded between
 “ your Majesty and the present Emperor,
 “ but they departed from the rule pro-
 “ posed before, and insisted upon the ar-
 “ ticle, of which your Commons now
 “ com-

“ complain ; which article your Majesty’s
 “ ambaffador allowed of, although equal-
 “ ly foreign to the fucceffion, or the bar-
 “ rier ; and although he had for that rea-
 “ fon departed from other articles, which
 “ would have been for the fervice of his
 “ own country.

“ We have forborne to trouble your
 “ Majesty with general obfervations upon
 “ this treaty, as it relates to and affects
 “ the Empire, and other parts of *Europe*.
 “ The mifchiefs which arife from it to
 “ *Great Britain*, are what only we have
 “ prefumed humbly to reprefent to you, as
 “ they are very evident, and very great ;
 “ and as it appears, that the Lord Vif-
 “ count TOWNSEND had not any orders,
 “ or authority, for concluding feveral of
 “ thofe articles, which are moft prejudi-
 “ cial to your Majesty’s fubjects ; we have
 “ thought we could do no lefs than de-
 “ clare your faid ambaffador, who nego-
 “ ciated and figned, and all others who
 “ advifed the ratifying of this treaty,

I

“ enemies

“ enemies to your Majesty and your kingdom.
 “ dom.

“ Upon these faithful informations, and
 “ advices from your Commons, we assure
 “ ourselves your Majesty, in your great
 “ goodness to your people, will rescue
 “ them from those evils, which the private
 “ councils of ill designing men have
 “ exposed them to; and that in your
 “ great wisdom you will find some means
 “ for the explaining, and amending, the
 “ several articles of this treaty, so as that
 “ they may consist with the interest of
 “ *Great Britain*, and with real and lasting
 “ friendship between your Majesty
 “ and the States General.”

Between the representation and the first debates upon the subject of it, several weeks had passed; during which time the parliament had other matters likewise before them, that deserve to be mentioned. For on the ninth of *February* was repealed the act for naturalizing foreign

protestants, which had been ^{passed} under the last ministry, and, as many people thought, to very ill purposes. By this act any foreigner, who would take the oaths to the government, and profess himself a protestant, of whatever denomination, was immediately naturalized, and had all the privileges of an *English*-born subject, at the expence of a shilling. Most protestants abroad differ from us in the points of church-government; so that all the acquisitions by this act would increase the number of dissenters; and therefore the proposal, that such foreigners should be obliged to conform to the established worship, was rejected. But because several persons were fond of this project, as a thing that would be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, I shall say a few words upon it.

The maxim, “ That people are the “ riches of a nation,” hath been crudely understood by many writers and reasoners upon that subject. There are several ways
by

by which people are brought into a country. Sometimes a nation is invaded and subdued ; and the conquerors seize the lands, and make the natives their under-tenants or servants. Colonies have been always planted where the natives were driven out or destroyed, or the land uncultivated and waste. In those countries where the lord of the soil is master of the labour and liberty of his tenants; or of slaves bought by his money, men's riches are reckoned by the number of their vassals. And sometimes, in governments newly instituted, where there are not people to till the ground, many laws have been made to encourage and allure numbers from the neighbouring countries. And, in all these cases, the new comers have either lands allotted them, or are slaves to the proprietors. But to invite helpless families, by thousands, into a kingdom inhabited like ours, without lands to give them, and where the laws will not allow that they should be part of the

the property as servants, is a wrong application of the maxim, and the same thing, in great, as infants dropped at the doors, which are only a burthen and charge to the parish. The true way of multiplying mankind to publick advantage, in such a country as *England*, is to invite from abroad only able handicraftsmen and artificers, or such who bring over a sufficient share of property to secure them from want; to enact and enforce sumptuary laws against luxury, and all excesses in cloathing, furniture, and the like; to encourage matrimony, and reward, as the *Romans* did, those who have a certain number of children. Whether bringing over the *Palatines* were a mere consequence of this law for a general naturalization; or whether, as many surmised, it had some other meaning, it appeared manifestly, by the issue, that the publick was a loser by every individual among them; and that a kingdom can no more be the richer by such an importation, than

a man can be fatter by a wen, which is unsightly and troublesome, at best, and intercepts that nourishment, which would otherwise diffuse itself through the whole body.

About a fortnight after, the Commons sent up a bill for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of members in that house who should be allowed to possess employments under the crown. Bills to the same effect, promoted by both parties, had, after making the like progress, been rejected in former parliaments; the court and ministry, who will ever be against such a law, having usually a greater influence in the house of Lords, and so it happened now. Although that influence were less, I am apt to think that such a law would be too thorough a reformation in one point, while we have so many corruptions in the rest; and perhaps the regulations, already made on that article, are sufficient, by which several employments incapacitate

a man from being chosen a member, and all of them bring it to a new election.

For my own part, when I consider the temper of particular persons, and by what maxims they have acted (almost without exception) in their private capacities, I cannot conceive how such a bill should obtain a majority, unless every man expected to be one of the fifty, which, I think, was the limitation intended.

About the same time, likewise, the house of Commons advanced one considerable step towards securing us against farther impositions from our allies, resolving that the additional forces should be continued; but with a condition, that the *Dutch* should make good their proportion of three fifths to two fifths, which those confederates had so long, and in so great degree, neglected. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH's deduction of two and a half *per cent.* from the pay of the foreign troops, was also applied for carrying on the war.

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Lastly, within this period is to be included the act passed to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in *Scotland* in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the church of *England*. It is known enough, that the most considerable of the nobility and gentry there, as well as great numbers of the people, dread the tyrannical discipline of those synods and presbyteries; and at the same time have the utmost contempt for the abilities and tenets of their teachers. It was besides thought an inequality, beyond all appearance of reason or justice, that dissenters of every denomination here, who are the meanest and most illiterate part amongst us, should possess a toleration by law, under colour of which they might, upon occasion, be bold enough to insult the religion established, while those of the episcopal church in *Scotland* groaned under a real persecution. The only specious objection against this bill was,

was, that it set the religion by law, in both parts of the island, upon a different foot, directly contrary to the Union; because, by an act passed this very session against occasional conformity, our dissenters were shut out from all employments. A petition from CARSTAIRS, and other *Scotch* professors, against this bill, was offered to the house, but not accepted; and a motion made by the other party, to receive a clause that should restrain all persons, who have any office in *Scotland*, from going to episcopal meetings, passed in the negative. It is manifest, that the promoters of this clause were not moved by any regard for *Scotland*, which is by no means their favourite at present; only they hoped, that, if it were made part of a law, it might occasion such a choice of representatives in both houses, from *Scotland*, as would be a considerable strength to their faction here. But the proposition was in itself extremely absurd, that so many lords, and other persons of distinc-

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tion, who have great employments, pensions, posts in the army, and other places of profit, many of whom are in frequent or constant attendance at the court, and utterly dislike their national way of worship, should be deprived of their liberty of conscience at home; not to mention those who are sent thither from hence to take care of the revenue, and other affairs, who would ill digest the changing of their religion for that of *Scotland*.

With a farther view of favour towards the episcopal clergy of *Scotland*, three members of that country were directed to bring in a bill for restoring the patrons to their antient rights of presenting ministers to the vacant churches there, which the kirk, during the height of their power, had obtained for themselves. And, to conclude this subject at once, the Queen, at the close of the session, commanded Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN to acquaint the house, “ That, pursuant to
 “ their address, the profits arising from
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“ the bishops estates in *Scotland*, which
 “ remained in the crown, should be ap-
 “ plied to the support of such of the
 “ episcopal clergy there, as would take
 “ the oaths to her Majesty.”

Nothing could more amply justify the proceedings of the Queen and her ministers, for two years past, than that famous representation above at large recited ; the unbiassed wisdom of the nation, after the strictest inquiry, confirming those facts upon which her Majesty's counsels were grounded : and many persons, who were before inclined to believe that the allies and the late ministry had been too much loaded by the malice, misrepresentations, or ignorance of writers, were now fully convinced of their mistake by so great an authority. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear doing justice to Mr. ST. JOHN, who had been Secretary of War, for several years, under the former administration, where he had the advantage of observing how affairs were managed both

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at home and abroad. He was one of those who shared in the present Treasurer's fortune, resigning up his employment at the same time; and upon that minister's being again taken into favour, this gentleman was some time after made Secretary of State. There he began afresh, by the opportunities of his station, to look into past miscarriages; and, by the force of an extraordinary genius, and application to publick affairs, joined with an invincible eloquence, laid open the scene of miscarriages and corruptions through the whole course of the war, in so evident a manner, that the house of Commons seemed principally directed in their resolutions, upon this inquiry, by his information and advice. In a short time after the representation was published, there appeared a memorial in the *Dutch Gazette*, as by order of the States, reflecting very much upon the said representation, as well as the resolutions on which it was founded, pretending to deny some

some of the facts, and to extenuate others. This memorial, translated into *English*, a common writer of news had the boldness to insert in one of his papers. A complaint being made thereof to the house of Commons, they voted the pretended memorial to be a false, scandalous, malicious libel, and ordered the printer to be taken into custody.

It was the misfortune of the ministers, that while they were baited by their professed adversaries of the discontented faction, acting in confederacy with emissaries of foreign powers, to break the measures her Majesty had taken towards a peace, they met at the same time with frequent difficulties from those who agreed and engaged with them to pursue the same general end; but sometimes disapproved the methods as too slack and remiss, or, in appearance, now and then perhaps a little dubious. In the first session of this parliament, a considerable number of gentlemen, all members of

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the house of Commons, began to meet by themselves, and consult what course they ought to steer in this new world. They intended to revive a new country-party in parliament, which might, as in former times, oppose the court in any proceedings they disliked. The whole body was of such who profess what is commonly called High-church principles, upon which account they were irreconcilable enemies to the late ministry and all its adherents. On the other side, considering the temper of the new men in power, that they were persons who had formerly moved between the two extremes, those gentlemen, who were impatient for an intire change, and to see all their adversaries laid at once as low as the dust, began to be apprehensive that the work would be done by halves. But the juncture of affairs at that time, both at home and abroad, would by no means admit of the least precipitation, although the Queen and her first minister had been dis-

disposed to it, which, certainly they were not. Neither did the court seem at all uneasy at this league, formed in appearance against it, but composed of honest gentlemen who wished well to their country, in which both were entirely agreed, although they might differ about the means; or if such a society should begin to grow resty, nothing was easier than to divide them, and render all their endeavours ineffectual.

But in the course of that first session, many of this society became gradually reconciled to the new ministry, whom they found to be greater objects of the common enemy's hatred than themselves; and the attempt of GUISCARD, as it gained farther time for the deferring the disposal of employments, so it much endeared that person to the kingdom, who was so near falling a sacrifice to the safety of his country. Upon the last session of which I am now writing, this *October* club (as it was called) renewed their usual meetings, but
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were now very much altered from their original institution, and seemed to have wholly dropped the design, as of no further use. They saw a point carried in the house of Lords against the court, that would end in the ruin of the kingdom; and they observed the enemy's whole artillery directly levelled at the Treasurer's head. In short, the majority of the club had so good an understanding with the great men at court, that two of the latter, to shew to the world how fair a correspondence there was between the court and country-party, consented to be at one of their dinners; but this intercourse had an event very different from what was expected: for immediately the more zealous members of that society broke off from the rest, and composed a new one, made up of gentlemen, who seemed to expect little of the court; and perhaps, with a mixture of others who thought themselves disappointed, or too long delayed. Many of these were observed to re-
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tain an incurable jealousy of the Treasurer, and to interpret all delays, which they could not comprehend, as a reserve of favour in this minister to the persons and principles of the abandoned party.

Upon an occasion offered about this time, some persons, out of distrust to the Treasurer, endeavoured to obtain a point, which could not have been carried without putting all into confusion. A bill was brought into the house of Commons, appointing commissioners to examine into the value of all lands, and other interests granted by the crown since the thirteenth day of *February*, One thousand six hundred and eighty-eight, and upon what considerations such grants had been made. The united country-interest in the house was extremely set upon passing this bill. They had conceived an opinion from former precedents, that the court would certainly oppose all steps towards a resumption of grants; and those who were apprehensive that the Treasurer inclined the

same way, proposed the bill should be tacked to another, for raising a fund by duties upon soap and paper, which hath been always imputed, whether justly or no, as a favourite expedient of those called the Tory party. At the same time it was very well known, that the house of Lords had made a fixed and unanimous resolution against giving their concurrence to the passing such united bills: so that the consequences of this project must have been to bring the ministry under difficulties, to stop the necessary supplies, and endanger the good correspondence between both houses; notwithstanding all which the majority carried it for a tack; and the committee was instructed accordingly to make the two bills into one, whereby the worst that could happen would have followed, if the Treasurer had not convinced the warm leaders in this affair, by undeniable reasons, that the means they were using would certainly disappoint the end; that neither himself, nor any other of the

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Queen's servants, were at all against this enquiry; and he promised his utmost credit to help forward the bill in the house of Lords. He prevailed at last to have it sent up single; but their lordships gave it another kind of reception. Those who were of the side opposite to the court, withstood it to a man, as in a party-case: among the rest, some very personally concerned, and others by friends and relations, which they supposed a sufficient excuse to be absent, or dissent. Even those, whose grants were antecedent to this intended inspection, began to *112* alarmed as men, whose neighbours houses are on fire. A shew of zeal for the late King's honour, occasioned many reflections upon the date of this enquiry, which was to commence with his reign: and the Earl of NOTTINGHAM, who had now flung away the mask which he lately pulled off; like one who had no other view but that of vengeance against the Queen and her friends, acted consistently enough with his design,

design, by voting as a lord against the bill, after he had directed his son in the house of Commons to vote for the tack.

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Thus miscarried this popular bill for appointing commissioners / into royal grants; but whether those chiefly concerned did rightly consult their own interest, hath been made a question, which perhaps time will resolve. It was agreed that the Queen, by her own authority, might have issued out a commission for such an enquiry, and every body believed, that the intention of the parliament was only to tax the grants with about three years purchase, and at the same time establish the proprietors in possession of the remainder for ever; so that, upon the whole, the grantees would have been great gainers by such an act, since the titles of those lands, as they stood then, were hardly of half value with others either for sale or settlement. Besides, the examples of the *Irish* forfeitures might have taught these precarious owners,

ers, that when the house of Commons hath once engaged in a pursuit, which they think is right, although it be stopped or suspended for a while, they will be sure to renew it upon every opportunity that offers, and seldom fail of success: for instance, if the resumption should happen to be made part of a supply, which can be easily done without the objection of a tack, the grantees might possibly then have much harder conditions given them; and I do not see how they could prevent it. Whether the resuming of royal grants be consistent with good policy or justice, would be too long a disquisition: besides, the profusion of kings is not like to be a grievance for the future, because there have been laws since made to provide against that evil, or, indeed, rather because the crown has nothing left to give away. But the objection made against the date of the intended enquiry was invidious and trifling; for King JAMES II. made very few grants: he was a better manager, and

and squandering was none of his faults ; whereas the late King, who came over here a perfect stranger to our laws, and to our people, regardless of posterity, wherein he was not likely to survive, thought he could no way better strengthen a new title, than by purchasing friends at the expence of every thing which was in his power to part with.

The reasonableness of uniting to a money-bill one of a different nature, which is usually called tacking, hath been likewise much debated, and will admit of argument enough. In antient times, when a parliament was held, the Commons first proposed their grievances to be redressed, and then gave their aids ; so that it was a perfect bargain between the King and the subject. This fully answered the ends of tacking. Aids were then demanded upon occasions which would hardly pass at present ; such, for instance, as those for making the King's son a knight, marrying his eldest daughter, and some others
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of the like sort. Most of the money went into the King's coffers for his private use; neither was he accountable for any part of it. Hence arose the form of the King's thanking his subjects for their benevolence, when any subsidies, tenths, or fifteenths were given him: but the supplies now granted are of another nature, and cannot be properly called a particular benefit to the crown, because they are all appropriated to their several uses: so that when the house of Commons tack to a money-bill what is foreign and hard to be digested, if it be not passed, they put themselves and their country in as great difficulties as the prince. On the other side, there have been several regulations made, through the course of time, in parliamentary proceedings; among which it is grown a rule, that a bill once rejected shall not be brought up again the same session; whereby the Commons seem to have lost the advantage of purchasing a redress of their grievances, by granting sup-

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plies, which, upon some emergencies, hath put them upon this expedient of tacking : so that there is more to be said on each side of the case, than is convenient for me to trouble the reader or myself in deducing.

Among the matters of importance during this session, we may justly number the proceedings of the house of Commons with relation to the press, since her Majesty's message to the house, of *January* the seventeenth, concludes with a paragraph, representing the great licences taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any government; and recommending to them to find a remedy equal to the mischief. The meaning of these words in the message, seems to be confined to these weekly and daily papers and pamphlets, reflecting upon the persons and the management of the ministry. But the house of Commons, in their address, which answers this message, makes an addition of the blasphemies

phemies against God and religion ; and it is certain, that nothing would be more for the honour of the legislature, than some effectual law for putting a stop to this universal mischief: but as the person *, who advised the Queen in that part of her message, had only then in his thoughts the redressing of the political and factious libels, I think he ought to have taken care, by his great credit in the house, to have proposed some ways by which that evil might be removed ; the law for taxing single papers having produced a quite contrary effect, as was then foreseen by many persons, and hath since been found true by experience. For the adverse party, full of rage and leifure since their fall, and unanimous in defence of their cause, employ a set of writers by subscription, who are well versed in all the topicks of defamation, and have a style and genius levelled to the generality of readers ; while those who would draw their pens on the

* Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN, now Lord Viscount BOLINGBROKE.

side of their prince and country, are discouraged by this tax, which exceeds the intrinsic value both of the materials and the work; a thing, if I be not mistaken, without example.

It must be acknowledged, that the bad practices of printers have been such, as to deserve the severest animadversions of the publick; and it is to be wished, the party-quarrels of the pen were always managed with decency and truth: but in the mean time, to open the mouths of our enemies and shut our own, is a turn of politicks that wants a little to be explained. Perhaps the ministry now in possession, because they are in possession, may despise such trifles as this; and it is not to be denied, that acting as they do upon a national interest, they may seem to stand in less need of such supports, or may safely fling them down as no longer necessary. But if the leaders of the other party had proceeded by this maxim, their power would have been none at all, or of very short duration:

tion : and had not some active pens fallen in to improve the good dispositions of the people, upon the late change, and continued since to overthrow the falshood, plentifully, and sometimes not unplaussibly, scattered by the adversaries, I am very much in doubt, whether those at the helm would now have reason to be pleased with their success. A particular person may, with more safety, despise the opinion of the vulgar, because it does a wise man no real harm or good, but the administration a great deal ; and whatever side has the sole management of the pen, will soon find hands enough to write down their enemies as low as they please. If the people had no other idea of those whom her Majesty trusts in her greatest affairs, than what is conveyed by the passions of such as would compass sea and land for their destruction, what could they expect, but to be torn in pieces by the rage of the multitude ? How necessary therefore was it, that the world should, from time to time, be undeceived by true

representations of persons and facts, which have kept the kingdom steady to its interest, against all the attacks of a cunning and virulent faction.

However, the mischiefs of the press were too exorbitant to be cured, by such a remedy as a tax upon the smaller papers; and a bill for a much more effectual regulation of it was brought into the house of Commons, but so late in the session, that there was no time to pass it: for there hath hitherto always appeared, an unwillingness to cramp overmuch the liberty of the press, whether from the inconveniencies apprehended from doing too much, or too little; or whether the benefit proposed by each party to themselves, from the service of their writers, towards recovering or preserving of power, be thought to outweigh the disadvantages. However it came about, this affair was put off from one week to another, and the bill not brought into the house till the eighth of June. It was committed three days, and then
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heard of no more. In this bill there was a clause inserted, (whether industriously with design to overthrow it) that the author's name, and place of abode, should be set to every printed book, pamphlet, or paper; which I believe no man, who hath the least regard to learning, would give his consent to: for, besides the objection to this clause from the practice of pious men, who, in publishing excellent writings for the service of religion, have chosen, out of an humble christian spirit, to conceal their names; it is certain, that all persons of true genius or knowledge have an invincible modesty and suspicion of themselves, upon their first sending their thoughts into the world; and that those who are dull or superficial, void of all taste and judgment, have dispositions directly contrary: so that if this clause had made part of a law, there would have been an end, in all likelihood, of any valuable production for the future, either in wit or learning: and that insufferable race

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of stupid people, who are now every day loading the press, would then reign alone, in time destroy our very first principles of reason, and introduce barbarity amongst us, which is already kept out with so much difficulty by so few hands.

Having given an account of the several steps made towards a peace, from the first overtures begun by *France*, to the commencement of the second session, I shall in the fourth book relate the particulars of this great negociation, from the period last-mentioned to the present time ; and because there happened some passages in both houses, occasioned by the treaty, I shall take notice of them under that head. There only remains to be mentioned one affair of another nature, which the Lords and Commons took into their cognizance, after a very different manner, wherewith I shall close this part of my subject.

The sect of Quakers amongst us, whose system of religion, first founded upon enthusiasm, hath been many years growing
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into a craft, held it an unlawful action to take an oath to a magistrate. This doctrine was taught them by the author of their sect, from a literal application of the text, *Swear not at all*; but being a body of people, wholly turned to trade and commerce of all kinds, they found themselves on many occasions deprived of the benefit of the law, as well as of voting at elections, by a foolish scruple, which their obstinacy would not suffer them to get over. To prevent this inconvenience, these people had credit enough in the late reign to have an act passed, that their solemn affirmation and declaration should be accepted, instead of an oath in the usual form. The great concern in those times, was to lay all religion upon a level; in order to which, this maxim was advanced, that no man ought to be denied the liberty of serving his country upon account of a different belief in speculative opinions, under which term some people were apt to include every doctrine of Christianity: however,

ever, this act, in favour of the Quakers, was only temporary, in order to keep them in constant dependance, and expired of course after a certain term, if it were not continued. Those people had, therefore, very early in the session, offered a petition to the house of Commons for a continuance of the act, which was not suffered to be brought up; upon this they applied themselves to the Lords, who passed a bill accordingly, and sent it down to the Commons, where it was not so much as allowed a first reading.

And indeed it is not easy to conceive upon what motives the legislature of so great a kingdom could descend so low, as to be ministerial and subservient to the caprices of the most absurd heresy that ever appeared in the world; and this in a point, where those deluding or deluded people stand singular from all the rest of mankind who live under civil government: but the designs of an aspiring party, at that time were not otherwise to be

be compassed, than by undertaking any thing that would humble and mortify the Church ; and I am fully convinced, that if a sect of sceptick philosophers (who profess to doubt of every thing) had been then among us, and mingled their tenets with some corruptions of Christianity, they might have obtained the same privilege; and that a law would have been enacted, whereby the solemn doubt of the people called Scepticks, should have been accepted instead of an oath in the usual form; so absurd are all maxims formed upon the inconsistent principles of faction, when once they are brought to be examined by the standard of truth and reason.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
FOUR LAST YEARS
OF THE
QUEEN.
BOOK IV.

WE left the plenipotentiaries of the allies, and those of the enemy, preparing to assemble at *Utrecht* on the first of *January*, N. S. in order to form a congress for negotiating a general peace; wherein although the *Dutch* had made a mighty merit of their compliance with the Queen, yet they set all their instruments at work to inflame both houses against her Majesty's measures. Monf.

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BOTHMAR, the *Hanover* envoy, took care to print and disperse his memorial, of which I have formerly spoken: HOFFMAN, the Emperor's resident, was soliciting for a yacht and convoys to bring over Prince EUGENE at this juncture, fortified, as it was given out, with great proposals from the Imperial court: the Earl of NOTTINGHAM became a convert, for reasons already mentioned: money was distributed where occasion required; and the Dukes of SOMERSET and MARLBOROUGH, together with the Earl of GODOLPHIN, had put themselves at the head of the Junto, and their adherents, in order to attack the court.

Some days after, the vote passed the house of Lords for admitting into the address the Earl of NOTTINGHAM's clause, against any peace without *Spain*. Mons. Buys, the *Dutch* envoy, who had been deep in all the consultations with the discontented party for carrying that point, was desired to meet with the Lord Privy-seal,

feal, the Earl of DARTMOUTH, and Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN, in order to sign a treaty between the Queen and the States, to subsist after a peace. There the envoy took occasion to expostulate upon the advantages stipulated for *Britain* with *France*; said "it was his opinion, that those ministers ought, in respect of the friendship between both nations, to acquaint him what these advantages were; and that he looked upon his country to be intitled, by treaty, to share them equally with us: That there was now another reason why we should be more disposed to comply with him upon this head; for since the late resolution of the house of Lords, he took it for granted, it would be a dangerous step in us to give *Spain* to a prince of the house of BOURBON; and therefore, that we should do well to induce the States, by such a concession, to help us out of this difficulty."

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Mr. ST. JOHN made answer, " That
 " there was not a man in the Queen's
 " council capable of so base a thought :
 " That if Buys had any thing to com-
 " plain of, which was injurious to *Hol-*
 " *land*, or justly tending to hurt the good
 " correspondence between us and the
 " States, he was confident her Majesty
 " would at all times be ready to give it
 " up; but that the ministers scorned to
 " screen themselves at the expence of
 " their country: That the resolution Buys
 " mentioned, was chiefly owing to foreign
 " ministers intermeddling in our affairs,
 " and would perhaps have an effect the
 " projectors did not foresee: That, if the
 " peace became impracticable, the house
 " of Commons would certainly put the
 " war upon another foot, and reduce the
 " publick expence within such a compass
 " as our treaties required in the strictest
 " sense, and as our present condition
 " would admit, leaving the partisans for
 " war to supply the rest."

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Although the Secretary believed this answer would put an end to such infamous proposals, it fell out otherwise; for shortly after, Mons. Buys applied himself to the Treasurer, promising to undertake, "That his masters should give up the article of *Spain*, provided they might share with us in the *Affiento* for Negroes." To which the Treasurer's answer was short, "That he would rather lose his head than consent to such an offer."

It is manifest, by this proceeding, that whatever schemes were forming here at home, in this juncture, by the enemies to the peace, the *Dutch* only designed to fall in with it as far as it would answer their own account; and, by a strain of the lower politicks, wherein they must be allowed to excel every country in *Christendom*, lay upon the watch for a good bargain, by taking advantage of the distress they themselves had brought upon their nearest neighbour and ally.

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But the Queen highly resented this indignity from a republick; upon whom she had confetred so many obligations. She could not endure that the *Dutch* should employ their instruments to act in confederacy with a cabal of factious people, who were prepared to sacrifice the safety of their prince and country to the recovery of that power they had so long possessed and abused. Her Majesty knew very well, that whatever were the mistaken or affected opinion of some people at home, upon the article of *Spain*, it was a point the States had long given up, who had very openly told our ministry, "That the war in that country was only our concern, and what their republick had nothing to do with." It is true, the party-leaders were equally convinced, that the recovery of *Spain* was impracticable; but many things may be excused in a professed adversary, fallen under disgrace, which are highly criminal in an ally, upon whom we are that
 very

very instant conferring new favours. Her Majesty therefore thought it high time to exert herself, and at length put a stop to foreign influence upon *British* counsels; so that, after the Earl of NOTTINGHAM's clause against any peace, without *Spain*, was carried in the house of Lords, directions were immediately sent to the Earl of STRAFFORD at the *Hague*, to inform the *Dutch*, "That it was obtained by a trick, and would consequently turn to the disappointment and confusion of the contrivers and the actors." He was likewise instructed to be very dry and reserved to the Pensionary and *Dutch* ministers; to let them know, "the Queen thought herself ill treated; and that they would soon hear what effects those measures would have upon a mild and good temper, wrought up to resentment by repeated provocations: That the States might have the war continued, if they pleased; but that the Queen would not be forced to carry

“ it on after their manner, nor would
“ suffer them to make her peace, or to
“ settle the interests of her kingdoms.”

To others in *Holland*, who appeared to be more moderate, the Earl was directed to say, “ That the States were upon
“ a wrong scent: That their minister here
“ mistook every thing that we had promised: That we would perform all they
“ could reasonably ask from us, in relation to their barrier and their trade;
“ and that *Monf. Buys* dealt very unfairly, if he had not told them as much.
“ But that *Britain* proceeded, in some respects, upon a new scheme of politics; would no longer struggle for impossibilities, nor be amused by words:
“ That our people came more and more to their senses; and that the single dispute now was, whether the *Dutch* would join with a faction, against the
“ Queen, or with the nation, for her?”

The court likewise resolved to discourage Prince *EUGENE* from his journey to
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England, which he was about this time undertaking, and of which I have spoken before. He was told, " That the Queen " wanted no exhortations to carry on the " war; but the project of it should be " agreed abroad, upon which her Ma- " jesty's resolutions might soon be signi- " fied: but until she saw what the Em- " peror and allies were ready to do, she " would neither promise nor engage for " any thing." At the same time Mr. ST. JOHN told HOFFMAN, the Emperor's resident here, " That if the Prince had a " mind to divert himself in *London*, the " ministers would do their part to enter- " tain him, and be sure to trouble him " with no manner of business."

This coldness retarded the prince's journey for some days; but did not prevent it, although he had a second message by the Queen's order, with this farther addition, " That his name had lately been made " use of, on many occasions, to create a " ferment, and stir up sedition; and that

“ her Majesty judged it would be neither
 “ safe for him, nor convenient for her,
 “ that he should come over at this time.”

But all would not do: it was enough that the Queen did not absolutely forbid him, and the party-confederates, both foreign and domestick, thought his presence would be highly necessary for their service.

Towards the end of *December*, the Lord Privy-seal * set out for *Holland*. He was ordered to stop at the *Hague*, and, in conjunction with the Earl of STRAFFORD, to declare to the States, in her Majesty's name, “ her resolutions to conclude no
 “ peace, wherein the allies in general, and
 “ each confederate in particular, might
 “ not find their ample security, and their
 “ reasonable satisfaction: That she was
 “ ready to insist upon their barrier, and
 “ advantages in their trade, in the manner
 “ the States themselves should desire;
 “ and to concert with them such a plan

* Dr. ROBINSON, bishop of *Brissl*.

“ of

“ of treaty, as both powers might be un-
 “ der mutual engagements never to recede
 “ from : That nothing could be of greater
 “ importance, than for the ministers of
 “ *Great Britain* and *Holland* to enter the
 “ congress under the strictest ties of confi-
 “ dence, and intirely to concur through-
 “ out the courſe of theſe negotiations.
 “ To which purpoſe, it was her Maſteſty’s
 “ pleaſure, that their Lordſhips ſhould
 “ adjust with the *Dutch* miniſters, the beſt
 “ manner and method for opening and
 “ carrying on the conferences, and de-
 “ clare themſelves inſtructed to commu-
 “ nicate freely their thoughts and mea-
 “ ſures to the plenipotentiaries of the
 “ States, who, they hoped, had received
 “ the ſame inſtructions.”

Laſtly, the two lords were to ſignify to
 the Penſionary, and the other miniſters,
 “ That her Maſteſty’s preparations for the
 “ next campaign were carried on with all
 “ the diſpatch and vigour, which the pre-
 “ ſent circumſtances would allow ; and

"to insist, that the same might be done
 "by the States; and that both powers
 "should join in pressing the Emperor,
 "and other allies, to make greater efforts
 "than they had hitherto done; without
 "which the war must languish, and the
 "terms of peace become every day more
 "disadvantageous."

The two *British* plenipotentiaries went
 to *Utrecht* with very large instructions,
 and, after the usual manner, were to make
 much higher demands from *France* (at
 least in behalf of the allies) than they
 could have any hope to obtain. The
 sum of what they had in charge, besides
 matter of form, was, to concert with the
 ministers of the several powers engaged
 against *France*, "That all differences
 "arising among them should be accom-
 "modated between themselves, without
 "suffering the *French* to interfere: That
 "whatever were proposed to *France* by
 "a minister of the alliance, should be
 "backed by the whole confederacy: That

" a

“ a time might be fixed for the conclu-
 “ sion, as there had been for the com-
 “ mencement, of the treaty.” *Spain* was
 to be demanded out of the hands of the
 BOURBON family, as the most effectual
 means for preventing the union of that
 kingdom with *France*; and whatever con-
 ditions the allies could agree upon for
 hindering that union, their lordships were
 peremptorily to insist on.

As the interests of each ally in particu-
 lar, the plenipotentiaries of *Britain* were
 to demand “ *Strasburgh*, the fort of *Kehl*,
 “ with its dependencies, and the town of
 “ *Brisac*, with its territory, for the Em-
 “ peror: That *France* should possess *Al-*
 “ *satia*, according to the treaty of *West-*
 “ *phalia*, with the right of the prefecture
 “ only over the ten Imperial cities in that
 “ country: That the fortifications of the
 “ said ten cities be put into the condition
 “ they were in at that time of the said
 “ treaty, except *Landau*, which was to be
 “ demanded for the Emperor and Empire,
 “ with

“ with liberty of demolishing the fortifications : That the *French* King should
 “ at a certain time, and at his own expence, demolish the fortresses of *Hun-*
 “ *ningen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Lewis*,
 “ never to be rebuilt,

“ That the towns and fortresses of *Rhin-*
 “ *felt* should be demanded for the Land-
 “ *grave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, until that matter
 “ be otherwise settled,

“ That the clause relating to religion,
 “ in the fourth article of the treaty of
 “ *Riswick*, and contrary to that of *West-*
 “ *phalia*, should be annulled, and the
 “ state of religion in *Germany* restored to
 “ the tenour of the treaty of *Westphalia*.

“ That *France* should acknowledge the
 “ King of *Prussia*, and give him no dis-
 “ turbance in *Neufchatel* and *Valengin* :
 “ That the principality of *Orange*, and
 “ other estates belonging to the late King
 “ *WILLIAM*, should be restored, as law
 “ should direct.

“ That

“ That the Duke of *Hanover* should
 “ be acknowledged Elector.

“ That the King of *Portugal* should
 “ enjoy all the advantages stipulated be-
 “ tween him and the allies,

“ That the States should have for their
 “ barrier *Furnes, Fort Knöck, Menin,*
 “ *Ipres, Lisle, Tournay, Condé, Valen-*
 “ *ciennes, Mauberge, Douay, Bethune Arvie,*
 “ *St. Venant, and Bouchain,* with their
 “ cannon, &c. That the *French* King
 “ should restore all the places belonging
 “ to *Spain*, now or during this war in his
 “ possession, in the *Netherlands*: That
 “ such part of them as should be thought
 “ fit, might be allowed likewise for a
 “ barrier to the States: That *France*
 “ should grant the tariff of One thousand
 “ six hundred and sixty-four to the States,
 “ and exemption of fifty pence *per tun*
 “ upon *Dutch* goods trading to that king-
 “ dom.

“ But that these articles in favour of
 “ the States should not be concluded, till
 “ the

“ the barrier-treaty were explained to the
 “ Queen’s satisfaction.

“ That the Duke of *Savoy* should be
 “ put in possession of all taken from him
 “ in this war, and enjoy the places yielded
 “ to him by the Emperor, and other al-
 “ lies: That *France* should likewise yield
 “ to him *Exilles, Fenestrelles, Chaumont,*
 “ the valley of *Pregata*, and the land
 “ lying between *Piedmont* and Mount
 “ *Genoa*.

“ That the article about demolishing
 “ of *Dunkirk* should be explained.”

As to *Britain*, the plenipotentiaries
 were to insist, “ That *Nieuport, Dender-*
 “ *mond, Ghent,* and all places which ap-
 “ pear to be a barrier rather against *Eng-*
 “ *land* than *France*, should either not be
 “ given to the *Dutch*, or at least in such
 “ a manner, as not to hinder the Queen’s
 “ subjects free passage to and from the
 “ *Low Countries*.

“ That the seventh article of the Bar-
 “ rier-treaty, which impowers the States,
 “ in

“ in case of an attack, to put troops at
 “ discretion in all the places of the *Low*
 “ *Countries*, should be so explained as to
 “ be understood only of an attack from
 “ *France*.

“ That *Britain* should trade to the
 “ *Low Countries* with the same privileges
 “ as the States themselves.

“ That the most Christian King should
 “ acknowledge the succession of HANO-
 “ VER, and immediately oblige the Pre-
 “ tender to leave *France*; and that the
 “ said King should promise, for himself
 “ and his heirs, never to acknowledge
 “ any person for King or Queen of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, otherwise than according to the
 “ settlements now in force.

“ That a treaty of commerce should be
 “ commenced, as soon as possible, be-
 “ tween *France* and *Britain*; and in the
 “ mean time, the necessary points relating
 “ to it be settled.

“ That the *Isle of St. Christopher's*
 “ should be surrendered to the Queen,
 “ *Hud-*

" *Hudson's Bay*: restored, *Placettia* and
 " the whole Island of *Newfoundland*
 " yielded to *Britain* by the most Chris-
 " tian King; who was likewise to quit
 " all claim to *Nova Scotia* and *Annapolis*
 " *Royal*.

" That *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* should
 " be annexed to the *British* crown.

" That the *Affiento* should be granted
 " to *Britain* for thirty years, with the
 " same advantage as to *France*; with an
 " extent of ground on the river of *Plata*,
 " for keeping and refreshing the Ne-
 " grões.

" That *Spain* should grant to the sub-
 " jects of *Britain* as large privileges as to
 " any other nation whatsoever; as like-
 " wise an exemption of duties, amounting
 " to an advantage of at least fifteen per
 " cent.

" That satisfaction should be de-
 " manded for what should appear to be
 " justly due to her Majesty, from the
 " Emperor and the States.

" Lastly,

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“ Lastly, That the plenipotentiaries
 “ should consult with those of the Pro-
 “ testant allies, the most effectual me-
 “ thods for restoring the Protestants of
 “ *France* to their religious and civil liber-
 “ ties, and for the immediate release of
 “ those who are now in the galleys.”

What part of these demands were to be insisted on, and what were to be given up, will appear by the sequel of this negociation. But there was no difficulty of moment enough to retard the peace, except a method for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain* under one prince, and the settling the barrier for *Holland*, which last, as claimed by the States, could, in prudence and safety, be no more allowed by us than by *France*.

The States General having appointed Mon^r. Buys to be one of their plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, that minister left *England* a few days after the Lord Privy-seal. In his last conference with the lords of the council, he absolutely de-
 declared,

clared, " That his masters had done their
 " utmost, both by sea and land : That it
 " was unreasonable to expect more : That
 " they had exceeded their proportion,
 " even beyond *Britain* ; and that as to
 " the Emperor, and other allies, he knew
 " no expedient left for making them act
 " with more vigour, than to pursue them
 " with pathetical exhortations."

This minister was sent over hither, instructed and impowered by halves. The ferment raised by the united endeavours of our party-leaders, among whom he was a constant fellow-labourer to the utmost of his skill, had wholly confounded him ; and thinking to take the advantage of negotiating well for *Holland* at the expence of *Britain*, he acted but ill for his own country, and worse for the common cause. However, the Queen's ministers and he parted with the greatest civility ; and her Majesty's present was double the value of what is usual to the character he bore.

As

As the Queen was determined to alter her measures in making war, so she thought nothing would so much convince the States of the necessity of a peace, as to have them frequently put in mind of this resolution, which her ambassador STRAFFORD, then at the *Hague*, was accordingly directed to do: and if they should object, of what ill consequence it would be for the enemy to know her Majesty designed to lessen her expences, he might answer, “ That the
 “ ministers here were sorry for it; but
 “ the *Dutch* could only blame them-
 “ selves, for forcing into such a necessity
 “ a princess, to whose friendship they
 “ owed the preservation and grandeur of
 “ their republick, and chusing to lean
 “ on a broken faction, rather than place
 “ their confidence in the Queen.”

It was her Majesty's earnest desire, that there should be a perfect agreement at this treaty between the ministers of all the allies, than which nothing could be

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more

more effectual to make *France* comply with their just demands: above all, she directed her plenipotentiaries to enter into the strictest confidence with those of *Holland*; and that, after the States had consented to explain the Barrier-treaty to her reasonable satisfaction, both powers should form between them a plan of general peace, from which they would not recede, and such as might secure the quiet of *Europe*, as well as the particular interests of each confederate.

The *Dutch* were accordingly pressed, before the congress opened, to come to some temperament upon that famous treaty; because the ministers here expected it would be soon laid before the house of Commons, by which the resentment of the nation would probably appear against those who had been actors and advisers in it: but *Monf. Buys*, who usually spoke for his colleagues, was full of opposition, began to expostulate upon the advantages *Britain* had stipulated with *France*, and to insist, that

his masters ought to share equally in them all, but especially the Affiento contract : so that no progress was made in fixing a previous good correspondence between *Britain* and the States, which her Majesty had so earnestly recommended.

Certain regulations having been agreed upon, for avoiding of ceremony and other inconveniencies, the conferences began at *Utrecht*, upon the twenty-ninth of *January*, N. S. One thousand seven hundred and eleven-twelve, at ten in the morning. The ministers of the allies going into the Town-house at one door, and those of *France*, at the same instant, at another, they all took their seats without distinction ; and the Bishop of *BRISTOL*, Lord Privy-Seal, first plenipotentiary of *Britain*, opened the assembly with a short speech, directed to the ministers of *France*, in words to the following effect :

“ Messieurs,

“ We are here met to-day, in the name
“ of God, to enter upon a treaty of gene-

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“ ral

" ral peace, between the High Allies and
 " the King your master. We bring sin-
 " cere intentions, and express orders from
 " our superiors, to concur, on their part,
 " with whatever may advance and per-
 " fect so salutary and christian a work.
 " On the other side, we hope you have
 " the same disposition; and that your or-
 " ders will be so full, as to be able,
 " without loss of time, to answer the ex-
 " pectation of the High Allies, by ex-
 " plaining yourselves clearly and roundly
 " upon the points we shall have to settle
 " upon these conferences; and that you
 " will perform this in so plain and speci-
 " fick a manner, as every prince and state
 " in the confederacy may find a just and
 " reasonable satisfaction."

The *French* began, by promising to
 explain the overtures which Mons. MES-
 NAGER had delivered to the Queen some
 months before, and to give in a specifick
 project of what their master would yield,
 provided the allies would each give a spe-
 cifick

cifick answer, by making their feveral demands; which method, after many difficulties, and affected delays in the *Dutch*, was at length agreed to.

But the States, who had, with the utmost discontent, feen her Majesty at the head of this negociation, where they intended to have placed themselves, began to discover their ill-humour upon every occasion; they raised endless difficulties about settling the Barrier-treaty, as the Queen desired; and in one of the first general conferences, they would not suffer the *British* Secretary to take the minutes, but nominated some *Dutch* professor for that office, which the Queen refused, and resented their behaviour as an uselefs cavil, intended only to shew their want of respect. The *British* plenipotentiaries had great reason to suspect, that the *Dutch* were, at this time, privately endeavouring to engage in some separate measures with *France*, by the intervention of one MOLO, a busy factious agent at *Amsterdam*,

dam, who had been often employed in such intrigues: that this was the cause which made them so litigious and slow in all their steps, in hopes to break the congress, and find better terms for their trade and barrier, from the *French*, than we ever could think fit to allow them. The *Dutch* ministers did also apply themselves with industry, to cultivate the Imperial plenipotentiary's favour, in order to secure all advantages of commerce with *Spain* and the *West Indies*, in case those dominions could be procured for the Emperor: for this reason they avoided settling any general plan of peace, in concert with the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, which her Majesty desired; and Mons. Buys plainly told their lordships, that it was a point, which neither he nor his colleagues could consent to, before the States were admitted equal sharers with *Britain* in the trade of *Spain*.

The court having notice of this untractable temper in the *Dutch*, gave direct or-
ders

ders to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, for pressing those of the States to adjust the gross inequalities of the Barrier-treaty, since nothing was more usual or agreeable to reason than for princes, who find themselves aggrieved by prejudicial contracts, to expect they should be modified and explained. And since it now appeared by votes in the house of Commons, that the sense of the nation agreed with what her Majesty desired, if the *Dutch* ministers would not be brought to any moderate terms upon this demand, their lordships were directed to improve and amend the particular concessions made to *Britain* by *France*, and form them into a treaty; for the *Queen* was determined never to allow the States any share in the *Affiento*, *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mabon*; nor could think it reasonable, that they should be upon an equal foot with her in the trade of *Spain*, to the conquest whereof they had contributed so little.

Nor was the conduct of the Imperial minister at this time less perplexing than that of the States, both those powers appearing fully bent, either upon breaking off the negociation, or, upon forcing from the Queen those advantages she expected by it for her own kingdoms. Her Majesty therefore thought fit, about the beginning of *March*, to send Mr. THOMAS HARLEY, a near relation of the Treasurer's, to *Utrecht*, fully informed of her mind, which he was directed to communicate to the plenipotentiaries of *Britain*.

Mr. HARLEY stopped in his way to *Utrecht* at the *Hague*, and there told the Pensionary, "That nothing had happened lately in *England* but what was long ago foretold him, as well as the other ministers of the allies: That the proceedings of the house of Commons, particularly about the Barrier-treaty, must chiefly be ascribed to the manner in which the Queen and the nation had been treated by Mons. BOTHMAR, Count

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“ Count GALLAS, Buys, and other foreign ministers: That if the States
“ would yet enter into a strict union with
“ the Queen, give her satisfaction in the
“ said treaty, and join in concert with
“ her plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, a safe
“ and advantageous peace might be obtained for the whole alliance; otherwise
“ her Majesty must save her own country,
“ and join with such of her allies as
“ would join with her.

“ As to the war, that the conduct of
“ the allies, and their opposition to the
“ Queen, by private intrigues carried on
“ among her own subjects, as well as by
“ open remonstrances, had made the
“ house of Commons take that matter
“ out of the hands of the ministers.

“ Lastly, that in case the present treaty
“ were broken off by the *Dutch* refusing
“ to comply, her Majesty thought it reasonable to insist, that some cautionary
“ places be put into her hands as pledges,
“ that no other negotiation should be entered

“tered into by the States General, without her participation.”

Mr. HARLEY's instructions to the Queen's plenipotentiaries were, “That they should press those of *France*; to open themselves as far as possible; in concerting such a plan of a general peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all the confederates, and such as her parliament would approve: That the people of *England* believed *France* would consent to such a plan; wherein if they found themselves deceived, they would be as eager for prosecuting the war as ever.”

Their lordships were to declare openly to the *Dutch*, “That no extremity should make her Majesty depart from insisting to have the *Affiento* for her own subjects, and to keep *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*; but if the States would agree with her upon these three heads, she would be content to reduce the trade of *Spain* and the *West Indies*, to the condition

“dition it was in under the late Catholick
“King CHARLES II.”

The *French* were farther to be pressed,
“That the Pretender should be im-
“mediately sent out of that kingdom;
“and that the most effectual method
“should be taken, for preventing the
“union of *France* and *Spain* under one
“prince.”

About this time her majesty's ministers,
and those of the allies at *Utrecht*, delivered
in the several postulata, or demands of
their masters to the *French* plenipoten-
tiaries, which having been since made
publick, and all of them, except those
of *Britain*, very much varying in the
course of the negociation, the reader
would be but ill entertained with a tran-
script of them here.

Upon intelligence of the last Dauphin's
death, the father, son, and grandson, all
of that title, dying within the compass
of a year, Mons. GAULTIER went to
France with letters to the Marquis of
TORCY,

TORCY, to propose her Majesty's expedient for preventing the union of that kingdom with *Spain*; which, as it was the most important article to be settled, in order to secure peace for *Europe*, so it was a point that required to be speedily adjusted under the present circumstances and situation of the BOURBON family, there being only left a child of two years old to stand between the Duke of ANJOU and his succeeding to the crown of *France*.

Her Majesty likewise pressed *France* by the same dispatches, to send full instructions to their plenipotentiaries, empowering them to offer to the allies such a plan of peace, as might give reasonable satisfaction to all her allies.

The Queen's proposal for preventing an union between *France* and *Spain* was,
 " that PHILIP should formally renounce
 " the kingdom of *France* for himself and
 " his posterity; and that this renunciation
 " should be confirmed by the courts or
 " states of *Spain*, who, without question,
 " would

“ would heartily concur against such an
 “ union, by which their country must
 “ become a province to *France*.” In like
 manner, the *French* princes of the blood
 were severally to renounce all title to
Spain.

The *French* raised many difficulties
 upon several particulars of this expedient;
 but the Queen persisted to refuse any plan
 of peace before this weighty point were
 settled in the manner she proposed, which
 was afterwards submitted to, as in proper
 place we shall observe. In the mean
 time, the negociation at *Utrecht* proceeded
 with a very slow pace; the *Dutch* inter-
 posing all obstructions they could con-
 trive, refusing to come to any reasonable
 temper upon the Barrier-treaty, or to offer
 a plan, in concert with the Queen, for a
 general peace. Nothing less would sa-
 tisfy them, than the partaking in those
 advantages we had stipulated for ourselves,
 and which did no ways interfere with
 their trade or security. They still ex-
 pected

pected some turn in *England*; their friends on this side had ventured to assure them, that the Queen could not live many months, which, indeed, from the bad state of her Majesty's health, was reasonable to expect. The *British* plenipotentiaries daily discovered new endeavours of *Holland* to treat privately with *France*; and, lastly, those among the States, who desired the war should continue, strove to gain time, until the campaign should open; and by resolving to enter into action with the first opportunity, render all things desperate, and break up the congress.

This scheme did exactly fall in with Prince EUGENE's dispositions, whom the States had chosen for their general, and of whose conduct, in this conjuncture, the Queen had too much reason to be jealous; but her Majesty, who was resolved to do her utmost towards putting a good and speedy end to this war, having placed the Duke of ORMOND at the head of her
forces

forces in *Flanders*, whither he was now arrived, directed him to keep all the troops in *British* pay, whether subjects or foreigners, immediately under his own command ; and to be cautious, for a while, in engaging in any action of importance, unless upon a very apparent advantage. At the same time the Queen determined to make one thorough trial of the disposition of the States, by allowing them the utmost concessions that could any way suit either with her safety or honour. She therefore directed her ministers at *Utrecht*, to tell the *Dutch*, “ That, in order to shew
 “ how desirous she was to live in perfect amity with that republick, she
 “ would resign up the fifteen *per cent.*
 “ advantage upon *English* goods sent to
 “ the *Spanish* dominions, which the *French*
 “ King had offered her by a power from
 “ his grandson, and be content to reduce
 “ that trade to the state in which it was
 “ under the late King of *Spain*. She would
 “ accept of any tolerable softening of these
 “ words

“ words in the seventh article of the Barrier-
 “ treaty, where it is said, the States shall
 “ have power, in case of an apparent at-
 “ tack, to put as many troops as they
 “ please into all the places of the *Nether-*
 “ *lands*, without specifying an attack
 “ from the side of *France*, as ought to
 “ have been done; otherwise, the Queen
 “ might justly think they were preparing
 “ themselves for a rupture with *Britain*.
 “ Her Majesty likewise consented, that the
 “ States should keep *Nieuport*, *Dender-*
 “ *mond*, and the castle of *Ghent*, as an
 “ addition to their barrier, although she
 “ were sensible how injurious those con-
 “ cessions would be to the trade of her
 “ subjects; and would wave the demand of
 “ *Ostend* being delivered into her hands,
 “ which she might with justice insist on.
 “ In return of all this, that the Queen
 “ only desired the ministers of the States
 “ would enter into a close correspondence
 “ with her’s, and settle between them
 “ some plan of a general peace, which
 “ might

“ give reasonable content to all her al-
 “ lies, and which her Majesty would en-
 “ deavour to bring *France* to consent to.
 “ She desired the trade of her kingdoms
 “ to the *Netherlands*, and to the towns of
 “ their barrier, might be upon as good a
 “ foot as it was before the war began :
 “ That the *Dutch* would not insist to have
 “ share in the *Affiento*, to which they
 “ had not the least pretensions, and that
 “ they would no longer encourage the
 “ intrigues of a faction against her go-
 “ vernment. Her Majesty assured them
 “ in plain terms, that her own future
 “ measures, and the conduct of her ple-
 “ nipotentiaries, should be wholly go-
 “ verned by their behaviour in these
 “ points ; and that her offers were only
 “ conditional, in case of their compliance
 “ with what she desired.”

But all these proofs of the Queen's
 kindness and sincerity would not avail. /c
 The *Dutch* ministers pleaded, they had
 no power to concert the plan of general

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peace

peace with those of *Britain*: however, they assured the latter, that the *Affiento* was the only difficulty which stuck with their masters. Whereupon, at their desire, a contract for that traffick was twice read to them; after which they appeared very well satisfied, and said they would go to the *Hague* for further instructions. Thither they went, and, after a week's absence, returned the same answer, "That they had no power to settle a scheme of peace; but could only discourse of it, when the difficulties of the Barrier-treaty were over." And *Monf. Buys* took a journey to *Amsterdam*, on purpose to stir up that city, where he was Pensionary, against yielding the *Affiento* to *Britain*; but was unsuccessful in his negotiation; the point being yielded up there, and in most other towns in *Holland*.

It will have an odd sound in history, and appear hardly credible, that in several petty republicks of single towns, which make up the States General, it should be
formal-

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formally debated, whether the Queen of *Great Britain*, who preserved the commonwealth at the charge of so many millions, should be suffered to enjoy, after a peace, the liberty granted her by *Spain* of selling *African* slaves in the *Spanish* dominions of *America*! But there was a prevailing faction at the *Hague*, violently bent against any peace, where the Queen must act that part which they had intended for themselves. These politicians, who held constant correspondence with their old dejected friends in *England*, were daily fed with the vain hopes of the Queen's death, or the party's restoration. They likewise endeavoured to spin out the time, till Prince *EUGENE*'s activity had pushed on some great event, which might govern or perplex the conditions of peace. Therefore the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries, who proceeded by the instructions of those mistaken patriots, acted in every point with a spirit of litigiousness, than which nothing could give greater advan-

tage to the enemy; a strict union between the allies, but especially *Britain* and *Holland*, being doubtless the only means for procuring safe and honourable terms from *France*.

But neither was this the worst; for the Queen received undoubted intelligence from *Utrecht*, that the *Dutch* were again attempting a separate correspondence with *France*. And by letters, intercepted here, from *Vienna*, it was found, that the Imperial court, whose ministers were in the utmost confidence with those of *Holland*, expressed the most furious rage against her Majesty, for the steps she had taken to advance a peace.

This unjustifiable treatment, the Queen could not digest from an ally, upon whom she had conferred so many signal obligations, whom she had used with so much indulgence and sincerity during the whole course of the negotiation, and had so often invited to go along with her in every motion towards a peace. She apprehended

prehended likewise, that the negociation might be taken out of her hands, if *France* could be secure of easier conditions in *Holland*, or might think that *Britain* wanted power to influence the whole confederacy. She resolved therefore, on this occasion, to exert herself with vigour, steadiness, and dispatch; and, in the beginning of *May*, sent her commands to the Earl of STRAFFORD to repair immediately to *England*, in order to consult with her ministers what was proper to be done.

The proposal above mentioned, for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, met with many difficulties; Mons. DE TORCY raising objections against several parts of it. But the Queen refused to proceed any farther with *France*, until this weighty point were fully settled to her satisfaction; after which, she promised to grant a suspension of arms; provided the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* might be delivered as a pledge into her hands: and

proposed that *Ipres* might be surrendered to the *Dutch*, if they would consent to come into the suspension. *France* absolutely refused the latter; and the States General having acted in perpetual contradiction to her Majesty, she pressed that matter no farther; because she doubted they would not agree to a cessation of arms. However, she resolved to put a speedy end, or at least intermission, to her own share in the war: and the *French* having declared themselves ready to agree to her expedients, for preventing the union of the two crowns, and consented to the delivery of *Dunkirk*; positive orders were sent to the Duke of ORMOND to avoid engaging in any battle or siege, until he had further instructions; but he was directed to conceal his orders, and to find the best excuses he could, if any pressing occasion should offer.

The reasons for this unusual proceeding, which made a mighty noise, were of sufficient weight to justify it; for, pursuant

suant to the agreement made between us and *France*, a courier was then dispatched from *Fontainebleau* to *Madrid*, with the offer of an alternative to *Philip*, either of resigning *Spain* immediately to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the hopes of succeeding to *France*, and some present advantage, which, not having been accepted, is needless to dilate on; or of adhering to *Spain*, and renouncing all future claim to *France* for himself and his posterity.

Until it could be known which part *Philip* would accept, the Queen would not take possession of *Dunkirk*, nor suffer an armistice to be declared. But, however, since the most Christian King had agreed that his grandson should be forced, in case of a refusal, to make his choice immediately, her Majesty could not endure to think, that perhaps some thousands of lives of her own subjects and allies might be sacrificed, without necessity, if an occasion should be found or sought for fighting a battle; which, she

very well knew, Prince EUGENE would eagerly attempt, and put all into confusion, to gratify his own ambition, the enemy of his new masters the *Dutch*, and the rage of his court.

But the Duke of ORMOND, who, with every other quality that can accomplish or adorn a great man, inherits all the valour and loyalty of his ancestors, found it very difficult to acquit himself of his commission; for Prince EUGENE, and all the field-deputies of the States, had begun already to talk either of attacking the enemy, or besieging *Quesnoy*, the confederate army being now all joined by the troops they expected; and accordingly, about three days after the Duke had received those orders from court, it was proposed to his Grace, at a meeting with the Prince and Deputies, that the *French* army should be attacked, their camp having been viewed, and a great opportunity offering to do it with success: for the Marechal DE VILLARS, who had
notice

notice sent him by Mons. DE TORCY of what was passing, and had signified the same by a trumpet to the Duke, shewed less vigilance than was usual to that general, taking no precautions to secure his camp, or observe the motions of the allies, probably on purpose to provoke them; the Duke said, " That the Earl of STRAF-
 " FORD's sudden departure for *England*,
 " made him believe there was something
 " of consequence now transacting, which
 " would be known in four or five days ;
 " and therefore desired they would defer
 " this or any other undertaking, until he
 " could receive fresh letters from *Eng-*
 " *land.*" Whereupon the Prince and
 Deputies immediately told the Duke,
 " That they looked for such an answer
 " as he had given them: That they had
 " suspected our measures for some time,
 " and their suspicions were confirmed by
 " the express his Grace had so lately re-
 " ceived, as well as by the negligence of
 " Mons. VILLARS." They appeared ex-

3 tremely

tremely dissatisfied; and the Deputies told
 the Duke, that they would immediately
 send an account of his answer to their
 masters, which they accordingly did; and
 soon after, by order from the States,
 wrote him an expositulating letter, in a
 style less respectful than became them;
 desiring, among other things, to explain
 himself, whether he had positive orders
 not to fight the *French*; and afterwards
 told him, "They were sure he had such
 " orders, otherwise he could not answer
 " what he had done." But the Duke still
 waved the question, saying, " he would
 " be glad to have letters from *England*,
 " before he entered upon action, and
 " that he expected them daily."

Upon this incident, the ministers and
 generals of the allies immediately took
 the alarm, venting their fury in very vio-
 lent expressions against the Queen, and
 those she employed in her councils: said,
 they were betrayed by *Britain*, and as-
 sumed the countenance of those who think
 they

they have received an injury, and were disposed to return it.

The Duke of ORMOND's army consisted of eighteen thousand of her Majesty's subjects, and about thirty thousand hired from other princes, either wholly by the Queen, or jointly by her and the States. The Duke immediately informed the court of the dispositions he found among the foreign generals upon this occasion; and that, upon an exigency, he could only depend on the *British* troops adhering to him; those of *Hanover* having already determined to desert to the *Dutch*, tempted the *Danex* to do the like, and that he had reason to suppose the same of the rest.

Upon the news arriving at *Utrecht*, that the Duke of ORMOND had refused to engage in any action against the enemy, the *Dutch* ministers there went immediately to make their complaints to the Lord Privy-seal; aggravating the strangeness of this proceeding, together with the consequence of it, in the loss of a most favour-

favourable opportunity for ruining the *French* army, and the discontent it must needs create in the whole body of the confederates. Adding, how hard it was that they should be kept in the dark, and have no communication of what was done in a point which so nearly concerned them. They concluded, that the Duke must needs have acted by orders; and desired his lordship to write both to court, and to his Grace, what they had now said.

The Bishop answered, “ That he knew
 “ nothing of this fact, but what they had
 “ told him; and therefore was not pre-
 “ pared with a reply to their representa-
 “ tions: only, in general, he could ven-
 “ ture to say, that this case appeared very
 “ like the conduct of their field-deputies
 “ upon former occasions: That if such
 “ orders were given, they were certainly
 “ built upon very justifiable foundations,
 “ and would soon be so explained as to
 “ convince the States, and all the world,
 “ that

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“ that the common interest would be
“ better provided for another way, than
“ by a battle or siege : That the want of
“ communication which they complained
“ of, could not make the States so uneasy
“ as their declining to receive it had made
“ the Queen, who had used her utmost
“ endeavours to persuade them to concur
“ with her in concerting every step
“ towards a general peace, and settling
“ such a plan as both sides might ap-
“ prove and adhere to ; but, to this day,
“ the States had not thought fit to accept
“ those offers, or to authorise any of their
“ ministers to treat with her Majesty’s
“ plenipotentiaries upon that affair, al-
“ though they had been pressed to it ever
“ since the negociation began : That his
“ lordship, to shew that he did not speak
“ his private sense alone, took this oppor-
“ tunity to execute the orders he had re-
“ ceived the evening before, by declaring
“ to them, that all her Majesty’s offers
“ for adjusting the differences between
“ her

" her and the States were founded upon
 " this express condition, That they should
 " come immediately into the Queen's
 " measures, and act openly and sincerely
 " with her ; and that, from their conduct,
 " so directly contrary, she now looked
 " upon herself to be under no obligation
 " to them."

Monf. Buys and his colleagues were
 stunned with this declaration, made to
 them at a time when they pretended to
 think the right of complaining to be on
 their side, and had come to the Bishop
 upon that errand. But after their surprise
 was abated, and Buys's long reasonings at
 an end, they began to think how matters
 might be retrieved ; and were of opinion,
 that the States should immediately dis-
 patch a minister to *England*, unless his
 lordship were empowered to treat with
 them ; which, without new commands,
 he said he was not. They afterwards
 desired to know of the Bishop, what the
 meaning was of the last words in his de-
 clARATION,

claration, " That her Majesty looked upon
 " herself to be under no obligation to
 " them." He told them his opinion,
 " That as the Queen was bound by treaty
 " to concert with the States the condi-
 " tions of a peace, so, upon their declin-
 " ing the concert so frequently offered,
 " she was acquitted of that obligation :
 " but that he verily believed, whatever
 " measures her Majesty should take, she
 " would always have a friendly regard to
 " the interest of their commonwealth ;
 " and that as their unkindness had been
 " very unexpected and disagreeable to her
 " Majesty, so their compliance would be
 " equally pleasing."

I have been the more circumstantial in
 relating this affair, because it furnished
 abundance of discourse, and gave rise to
 many wild conjectures and misrepresenta-
 tions, as well here as in *Holland*, especially
 that part which concerned the Duke of
 ORMOND; for the angry faction in the
 house of Commons, upon the first intel-
 ligence,

ligence, that the Duke had declined to act
 offensively against *France*, in concurrence
 with the allies, moved for an address,
 wherein the Queen should be informed of
 “ the deep concern of her Commons for
 “ the dangerous consequences to the com-
 “ mon cause, which must arise from this
 “ proceeding of her general ; and to be-
 “ seech her, that speedy instructions might
 “ be given to the Duke to prosecute the
 “ war with vigour, in order to quiet the
 “ minds of her people, &c.” But a great
 majority was against this motion, and a
 resolution drawn up and presented to the
 Queen by the whole house of a quite con-
 trary tenour, “ That they had an intire
 “ confidence in her Majesty’s most gra-
 “ cious promise, to communicate to her
 “ parliament the terms of the peace, be-
 “ fore the same should be concluded ;
 “ and that they would support her Ma-
 “ jesty, in obtaining an honourable and
 “ safe peace, against all such persons,
 “ either at home or abroad, who have
 “ endea-

“endeavoured, or shall endeavour, to obstruct the same.”

The courier sent with the alternative to *Spain* was now returned, with an account that PHILIP had chosen to renounce *France* for himself and his posterity; whereof the Queen having received notice, her Majesty, upon the sixth of *June*, in a long speech to both houses of parliament, laid before them the terms of a general peace, stipulated between her and *France*. This speech, being the plan whereby both *France* and the allies have been obliged to proceed in the subsequent course of the treaty, I shall desire the reader's leave to insert it at length, although I believe it hath been already in most hands.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,

“The making peace and war is the
“undoubted prerogative of the crown;
“yet such is the just confidence I place in
“you, that at the opening of this session,

X

“I

“ I acquainted you that a negociation for
 “ a general peace was begun; and after-
 “ wards, by messages, I promised to com-
 “ municate to you the terms of peace, be-
 “ fore the same should be concluded.

“ In pursuance of that promise, I now
 “ come to let you know upon what terms
 “ a general peace may be made.

“ I need not mention the difficulties
 “ which arise from the very nature of this
 “ affair; and it is but too apparent, that
 “ these difficulties have been increased by
 “ other obstructions, artfully contrived to
 “ hinder this great and good work.

“ Nothing, however, has moved me
 “ from steadily pursuing, in the first place,
 “ the true interests of my own kingdoms;
 “ and I have not omitted any thing, which
 “ might procure to all our allies what is
 “ due to them by treaties, and what is
 “ necessary for their security.

“ The assuring of the Protestant suc-
 “ cession, as by law established in the
 “ house of HANOVER, to these kingdoms,
 being

“ being what I have nearest at heart, par-
 “ ticular care is taken not only to have
 “ that acknowledged in the strongest
 “ terms, but to have an additional secu-
 “ rity, by the removal of that person out
 “ of the dominions of *France*, who has
 “ pretended to disturb this settlement.

“ The apprehension that *Spain* and the
 “ *West Indies* might be united to *France*,
 “ was the chief inducement to begin this
 “ war; and the effectual preventing of
 “ such an union, was the principle I laid
 “ down at the commencement of this
 “ treaty: former examples, and the late
 “ negociations, sufficiently shew how diffi-
 “ cult it is to find means to accomplish
 “ this work. I would not content myself
 “ with such as are speculative, or depend
 “ on treaties only: I insisted on what was
 “ solid, and to have at hand the power of
 “ executing what should be agreed.

“ I can therefore now tell you, that
 “ *France* at last is brought to offer, that
 “ the Duke of *Anjou* shall, for himself

“ and his descendants, renounce for ever
 “ all claim to the crown of *France*; and
 “ that this important article may be ex-
 “ posed to no hazard, the performance is
 “ to accompany the promise.

“ At the same time the succession to
 “ the crown of *France* is to be declared,
 “ after the death of the present Dauphin
 “ and his sons, to be in the Duke of *Berry*
 “ and his sons, in the Duke of *Orleans*
 “ and his sons, and so on to the rest of
 “ the house of BOURBON.

“ As to *Spain* and the *Indies*, the suc-
 “ cession to those dominions, after the
 “ Duke of *Anjou* and his children, is to
 “ descend to such prince as shall be agreed
 “ upon at the treaty, for ever excluding
 “ the rest of the house of BOURBON.

“ For confirming the renunciations and
 “ settlements before-mentioned, 'tis fur-
 “ ther offered, that they should be ratified
 “ in the most strong and solemn manner,
 “ both in *France* and *Spain*; and that
 “ those kingdoms, as well as all the other
 “ powers

“ powers engaged in the present war,
 “ shall be guarantees to the same.

“ The nature of this proposal is such,
 “ that it executes itself: the interest of
 “ *Spain* is to support it; and in *France*,
 “ the persons to whom that succession is
 “ to belong, will be ready and powerful
 “ enough to vindicate their own right.

“ *France* and *Spain* are now more ef-
 “ fectually divided than ever. And thus,
 “ by the blessing of God, will a real
 “ balance of power be fixed in *Europe*,
 “ and remain liable to as few accidents as
 “ human affairs can be exempted from.

“ A treaty of commerce between these
 “ kingdoms and *France* has been entered
 “ upon; but the excessive duties laid on
 “ some goods, and the prohibitions of
 “ others, make it impossible to finish this
 “ work so soon as were to be desired.
 “ Care is however taken to establish a
 “ method of settling this matter; and in
 “ the mean time provision is made, that
 “ the same privileges and advantages, as

“ shall be granted to any other nation by
 “ *France*, shall be granted in like man-
 “ ner to us.

“ The division of the island of *St.*
 “ *Christopher*, between us and the *French*,
 “ having been the cause of great inconve-
 “ nieney and damage to my Subjects, I
 “ have demanded to have an absolute
 “ cession made to me of the whole island,
 “ and *France* agrees to this demand.

“ Our interest is so deeply concerned in
 “ the trade of *North America*, that I have
 “ used my utmost endeavours to adjust
 “ that article in the most beneficial man-
 “ ner. *France* consents to restore to us
 “ the whole bay and streights of *Hudson*,
 “ to deliver up the island of *Newfound-*
 “ *land*, with *Placentia*; and to make an
 “ absolute cession of *Annapolis*, with the
 “ rest of *Nova Scotia*, or *Accadie*: the
 “ safety of our home trade will be better
 “ provided for, by the demolition of
 “ *Dunkirk*.

“ Our

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“ Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the
“ *British* interest and influence in those
“ parts, will be secured by the possession
“ of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, with the
“ whole island of *Minorca*, which are
“ offered to remain in my hands.

“ The trade to *Spain* and the *West In-*
“ *dies* may in general be settled, as it was
“ in the time of the late King of *Spain*,
“ *Charles* the II^d. and a particular provi-
“ sion be made, that all advantages, rights,
“ or privileges, which have been granted,
“ or may hereafter be granted, by *Spain*
“ to any other nation, shall be in like
“ manner granted to the subjects of *Great*
“ *Britain*.

“ But the part which we have borne in
“ the prosecution of this war, intitling us
“ to some distinction in the terms of
“ peace, I have insisted, and obtained, that
“ the *Asiento*, or contract for furnishing
“ the *Spanish* West Indies with Negroes,
“ shall be made with us for the term of
“ thirty years, in the same manner as it

“ has been enjoyed by the *French* for ten
 “ years past.

“ I have not taken upon me to deter-
 “ mine the interests of our confederates ;
 “ these must be adjusted in the congress
 “ at *Utrecht*, where my best endeavours
 “ shall be employed, as they have hither-
 “ to constantly been, to procure to every
 “ one of them all just and reasonable sa-
 “ tisfaction. In the mean time, I think
 “ it proper to acquaint you, that *France*
 “ offers to make the *Rhine* the barrier of
 “ the Empire ; to yield *Brisack*, the fort
 “ of *Kebl*, and *Landau*, and to raise all the
 “ fortresses, both on the other side of the
 “ *Rhine*, and in that river.

“ As to the Protestant interest in *Ger-*
 “ *many*, there will be on the part of
 “ *France* no objection to the resettling
 “ thereof, on the foot of the treaty of
 “ *Westphalia*.

“ The *Spanish Low Countries* may go
 “ to his Imperial Majesty: the kingdoms
 “ of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the dutchy of
 “ *Milan*,

“ *Milan*, and the places belonging to
 “ *Spain* on the coast of *Tuscany*, may
 “ likewise be yielded by the treaty of
 “ peace to the Emperor.

“ As to the kingdom of *Sicily*, though
 “ there remains no dispute concerning the
 “ cession of it by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet
 “ the disposition thereof is not yet deter-
 “ mined,

“ The interests of the States General,
 “ with respect to commerce, are agreed
 “ to, as they have been demanded by their
 “ own ministers, with the exception only
 “ of some very few species of merchan-
 “ dize; and the intire barrier, as de-
 “ manded by the States in One thousand
 “ seven hundred and nine from *France*,
 “ except two or three places at most.

“ As to these exceptions, several expé-
 “ dients are proposed; and I make no
 “ doubt but this barrier may be so settled,
 “ as to render that republick perfectly
 “ secure against any enterprize on the
 “ part of *France*; which is the founda-
 “ dation

“ dation of all my engagements upon this
 “ head with the States.

“ The demands of *Portugal* depend-
 “ ing on the disposition of *Spain*, and that
 “ article having been long in dispute, it
 “ has not been yet possible to make any
 “ considerable progress therein; but my
 “ plenipotentiaries will now have an op-
 “ portunity to assist that king in his pre-
 “ tensions.

“ Those of the King of *Prussia* are
 “ such as, I hope, will admit of little
 “ difficulty on the part of *France*; and
 “ my utmost endeavours shall not be
 “ wanting to procure all I am able to se-
 “ cure an ally.

“ The difference between the barrier
 “ demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*
 “ in One thousand seven hundred and
 “ nine, and the offers now made by
 “ *France*, is very inconsiderable: but that
 “ prince having so signally distinguished
 “ himself in the service of the common
 “ cause, I am endeavouring to procure
 “ for him still farther advantages.

“ *France*

“ *France* has consented, that the Elec-
 “ tor *Palatine* shall continue his present
 “ rank among the Electors, and remain
 “ in possession of the upper *Palatinate*.

“ The electoral dignity is likewise ac-
 “ knowledged in the house of HANOVER,
 “ according to the article inserted at that
 “ Prince’s desire in my demands.

“ And as to the rest of the allies, I
 “ make no doubt of being able to secure
 “ their several interests.

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,
 “ I have now communicated to you,
 “ not only the terms of peace, which
 “ may, by the future treaty, be obtained
 “ for my own subjects; but likewise the
 “ proposals of *France*, for satisfying our
 “ allies.

“ The former are such as I have reason
 “ to expect, to make my people some
 “ amends for that great and unequal
 “ burden which they have lain under,
 “ through the whole course of this war;
 “ and

" and I am willing to hope, that none of
 " our confederates, and especially those
 " to whom so great acceptions of domi-
 " nion and power are to accrue by this
 " peace, will envy *Britain* her share in
 " the glory and advantage of it.

" The latter are not yet so perfectly
 " adjusted, as a little more time might
 " have rendered them; but the season of
 " the year making it necessary to put an
 " end to this session, I resolved no longer
 " to defer communicating these matters to
 " you.

" I can make no doubt but you are all
 " fully persuaded, that nothing will be
 " neglected on my part, in the progress
 " of the negotiation, to bring the peace
 " to an happy and speedy issue; and I de-
 " pend on your intire confidence in me,
 " and your cheerful concurrence with
 " me."

The discontented party in the house of
 Commons, finding the torrent against
 them

them not to be stemmed, suspended their opposition ; by which means an address was voted, *nemine contradicente*, to acknowledge her Majesty's condescension, to express their satisfaction in what she had already done, and to desire she would please to proceed with the present negotiations for the obtaining a speedy peace.

During these transactions at home, the Duke of ORMOND was in a very uneasy situation at the army, employed in practising those arts which perhaps are fitter for a subtle negociator than a great commander. But as he had always proved his obedience, where courage or conduct could be of use ; so the duty he professed to his prince, made him submit to continue in a state of inactivity at the head of his troops, however contrary to his nature, if it were for her Majesty's service. He had sent early notice to the ministers, that he could not depend upon the foreign forces in the Queen's pay, and he now found

found some attempts were already begun to seduce them.

While the courier was expected from *Madrid*, the Duke had orders to inform the Marechal DE VILLARS of the true state of this affair; that his Grace would have decisive orders in three or four days. In the mean time, he desired the Marechal would not oblige him to come to any action, either to defend himself, or to join with Prince EUGENE's army; which he must necessarily do, if the Prince were attacked.

When the courier was arrived with the account, that PHILIP had chosen to accept of *Spain*, her Majesty had proposed to *France* a suspension of arms for two months (to be prolonged three or four), between the armies now in *Flanders*, upon the following conditions:

“ That, during the suspension, endeavours should be used for concluding a general peace; or, at least, the article for preventing the union of *France* and
“ *Spain*,

“*Spain*, should be punctually executed
 “by PHILIP’S renouncing *France*, for
 “himself and his posterity; and the
 “princes of BOURBON, in like manner,
 “renouncing *Spain*: and that the town,
 “citadel, and forts of *Dunkirk*, should be
 “immediately delivered into the Queen’s
 “hands.” Her Majesty at the same time
 endeavoured to get *Cambray* for the *Dutch*,
 provided they would come into the sus-
 pension. But this was absolutely rejected
 by *France*; which that court would never
 have ventured to do, if those allies could
 have been prevailed on to have acted
 with sincerity and openness in concert
 with her Majesty, as her plenipotentiaries
 had always desired. However, the Queen
 promised, that, if the States would yield
 to a suspension of arms, they should have
 some valuable pledge put into their pos-
 session.

But now fresh intelligence daily ar-
 rived, both from *Utrecht* and the army,
 of attempts to make the troops in her

Majesty's pay desert her service; and a design even of seizing the *British* forces, was whispered about, and with reason suspected.

When the Queen's speech was published in *Holland*, the Lord Privy-seal told the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*, " That
 " what her Majesty had laid before her
 " parliament could not, according to the
 " rules of treaty, be looked on as the ut-
 " most of what *France* would yield in
 " the course of a negociation; but only
 " the utmost of what that crown would
 " propose, in order to form the plan of a
 " peace: That these conditions would
 " certainly have been better, if the States
 " had thought fit to have gone hand in
 " hand with her Majesty, as she had so
 " frequently exhorted them to do: That
 " nothing but the want of harmony
 " among the allies had spirited the *French*
 " to stand out so long: That the Queen
 " would do them all the good offices in
 " her power, if they thought fit to com-
 " ply;

“ply ; and did not doubt of getting them
 “reasonable satisfaction, both in relation
 “to their barrier and their trade.” But
 this reasoning made no impression : the
Dutch ministers said, the Queen’s speech
 had deprived them of the fruits of the
 war. They were in pain, lest *Lisse* and
Tournay might be two of the towns to be
 expected out of their barrier. The rest
 of the allies grew angry, by the example
 of the *Dutch*. The populace in *Holland*
 began to be inflamed : they publicly
 talked, that *Britain* had betrayed them.
 Sermons were preached in several towns
 of their provinces, whether by direction
 or connivance, filled with the highest in-
 stances of disrespect to her *Britannick* Ma-
 jesty, whom they charged as a papist, and
 an enemy to their country. The Lord
 Privy-seal himself believed something ex-
 traordinary was in agitation, and that his
 own person was in danger from the fury
 of the people.

Y

It

It is certain, that the States appeared but a few days before very much disposed to comply with the measures the Queen had taken, and would have consented to a general armistice, if Count ZINZENDORF, one of the plenipotentiaries for the Emperor, had not, by direct orders from his court, employed himself in sowing jealousies between *Britain* and the States; and at the same time made prodigious offers to the latter, as well as to the minister/ of *Prussia*, the *Palatinate*, and *Hanover*, for continuing the war. That those three Electors, who contributed nothing, except bodies of men in return of pay and subsidies, should readily accept the proposals of the Emperor, is easy to be accounted for. What appears hardly credible is, that a grave republick, usually cautious enough in making their bargains, should venture to reject the thoughts of a peace upon the promises of the house of *Austria*, the little validity whereof they had so long experienced ;
and

and especially when they counted upon losing the support of *Britain*, their most powerful ally ; but the false hopes given them by their friends in *England* of some new change in their favour, or an imagination of bringing *France* to better terms by the appearance of resolution, added to the weakness or corruption of some, who administered their affairs, were the true causes which first created, and afterwards inflamed, this untractable temper among them.

The *Dutch* ministers were wholly disconcerted and surpris'd, when the Lord Privy-seal told them, " That a suspension of arms in the *Netherlands* would be necessary ; and that the Duke of ORMOND intended very soon to declare it after he had taken possession of *Dunkirk*." But his lordship endeavoured to convince them, that this incident ought rather to be a motive for hastening the States into a compliance with her Majesty. He likewise communicated to the

ministers of the allies the offers made by *France*, as delivered in the speech from the throne, which her Majesty thought to be satisfactory, and hoped their masters would concur with her in bringing the peace to a speedy conclusion, wherein each, in particular, might be assured of her best offices for advancing their just pretensions.

In the mean time the Duke of ORMOND was directed to send a body of troops to take possession of *Dunkirk*, as soon as he should have notice from the Marechal DE VILLARS, that the commandant of the town had received orders from his court to deliver it; but the Duke foresaw many difficulties in the executing this commission. He could trust such an enterprize to no forces, except those of her Majesty's own subjects. He considered the temper of the States in this conjuncture, and was loath to divide a small body of men, upon whose faithfulness alone he could depend. He thought
it

it not prudent to expose them to march through the enemy's country, with whom there was yet neither peace nor truce; and he had sufficient reasons to apprehend, that the *Dutch* would either not permit such a detachment to pass through their towns (as themselves had more than hinted to him) or would seize them as they passed : besides, the Duke had very fairly signified to Marechal DE VILLARS, that he expected to be deserted by all the foreign troops in her Majesty's pay, as soon as the armistice should be declared ; at which the Marechal appearing extremely disappointed, said, " the King his
 " master reckoned, that all the troops
 " under his Grace's command should yield
 " to the cessation ; and wondered how it
 " should come to pass, that those who
 " might be paid for lying still, would rather
 " chuse, after a ten years war, to enter
 " into the service of new masters, under
 " whom they must fight on for nothing."

In short, the opinion of Monsr. VILLARS

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was,

was, that this difficulty cancelled the promise of surrendering *Dunkirk*; which therefore he opposed as much as possible, in the letters he writ to his court.

Upon the Duke of ORMOND's representing those difficulties, the Queen altered her measures, and ordered forces to be sent from *England* to take possession of *Dunkirk*. The Duke was likewise commanded to tell the foreign generals in her Majesty's service, how highly she would resent their desertion; after which, their masters must give up all thoughts of any arrears, either of pay or subsidy. The Lord Privy-seal spoke the same language at *Utrecht*, to the several ministers of the allies; as Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN did to those who resided here; adding, "That
 " the proceeding of the foreign troops
 " would be looked upon as a declaration
 " for or against her Majesty: and that,
 " in case they desert her service, she
 " would look on herself as justified, be-
 " fore God and man, to continue her ne-
 " gociation

“gociation at *Utrecht*, or any other place,
 “whether the allies concur or not.” And
 particularly the *Dutch* were assured, “That
 “if their masters seduced the forces hired
 “by the Queen, they must take the whole
 “pay, arrears, and subsidies on them-
 “selves.”

The Earl of STRAFFORD, preparing
 about this time to return to *Utrecht*, with
 instructions proper to the present situa-
 tion of affairs, went first to the army, and
 there informed the Duke of ORMOND of
 her Majesty’s intentions. He also ac-
 quainted the States Deputies with the
 Queen’s uneasiness, lest, by the measures
 they were taking, they should drive her
 to extremities, which she desired so much
 to avoid. He farther represented to them,
 in the plainest terms, the provocations her
 Majesty had received, and the grounds
 and reasons for her present conduct. He
 likewise declared to the commanders in
 chief of the foreign troops, in the Queen’s
 pay, and in the joint pay of *Britain* and

the States, with how much surprize her Majesty had heard, " That there was the
 " least doubt of their obeying the orders
 " of the Duke of ORMOND ; which if
 " they refused, her Majesty would esteem
 " it not only as an indignity and affront,
 " but as a declaration against her ; and,
 " in such a case, they must look on them-
 " selves as no farther intitled either to
 " any arrear, or future pay or subsidies."

Six regiments, under the command of Mr. HILL, were now preparing to embark, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk* ; and the Duke of ORMOND, upon the first intelligence sent him, that the *French* were ready to deliver the town, was to declare he could act no longer against *France*. The Queen gave notice immediately of her proceedings to the States. She let them plainly know, " That
 " their perpetual caballing with her fac-
 " tious subjects, against her authority, had
 " forced her into such measures, as other-
 " wise she would not have engaged in.
 " How-

“ However, her Majesty was willing yet
 “ to forget all that had passed, and to
 “ unite with them in the strictest ties of
 “ amity, which she hoped they would
 “ now do; since they could not but be
 “ convinced, by the late dutiful addresses
 “ of both houses, how far their High-
 “ Mightinesses had been deluded, and
 “ drawn in as instruments to serve the
 “ turn, and gratify the passions, of a dis-
 “ affected party: That their opposition,
 “ and want of concert with her Majesty’s
 “ ministers, which she had so often in-
 “ vited them to, had encouraged *France*.
 “ to except towns out of their barrier,
 “ which otherwise might have been
 “ yielded: That, however, she had not
 “ precluded them, or any other ally,
 “ from demanding more; and even her
 “ own terms were but conditional, upon
 “ supposition of a general peace to ensue:
 “ That her Majesty resolved to act upon
 “ the plan laid down in her speech;” and
 she repeated the promise of her best of-

fices to promote the interest of the States, if they would deal sincerely with her.

Some days before the Duke of ORMOND had notice, that orders were given for the surrender of *Dunkirk*, Prince EUGENE of *Savoy* sent for the generals of the allies, and asked them severally, whether, in case the armies separated, they would march with him, or stay with the Duke? All of them, except two, who commanded but small bodies, agreed to join with the Prince; who thereupon, about three days after, sent the Duke word, that he intended to march the following day (as it was supposed) to besiege *Landrecy*. The Duke returned an answer, “ That he was surpris’d at
 “ the Prince’s message, there having been
 “ not the least previous concert with
 “ him, nor any mention in the message,
 “ which way, or upon what design, the
 “ march was intended: therefore, that
 “ the Duke could not resolve to march
 “ with him, much less could the Prince
 “ expect

“ expect assistance from the Queen’s army,
 “ in any design undertaken after this
 “ manner.” The Duke told this beforehand, that he (the Prince) might take his measures accordingly, and not attribute to her Majesty’s general any misfortune that might happen.

On the sixteenth of *July*, N. S. the several generals of the allies joined Prince EUGENE’s army, and began their march, after taking leave of the Duke and the Earl of STRAFFORD, whose expostulations could not prevail on them to stay; although the latter assured them, that the Queen had made neither peace nor truce with *France*, and that her forces would now be left exposed to the enemy.

The next day after this famous desertion, the Duke of ORMOND received a letter from Mons. DE VILLARS, with an account, that the town and citadel of *Dunkirk* should be delivered to Mr. HILL. Whereupon a cessation of arms was declared, by sound of trumpet, at the head
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of the *British* army ; which now consisted only of about eighteen thousand men, all of her Majesty's subjects, except the *Hollsteiners* and Count WALLIS's dragoons. With this small body of men the general began his march ; and, pursuant to orders from court, retired towards the sea, in the manner he thought most convenient for the Queen's service. When he came as far as *Flines*, he was told by some of his officers, that the commandants of *Bouchain*, *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, had refused them passage thro' those towns, or even liberty of entrance, and said it was by order of their masters. The Duke immediately recollected, that when the Deputies first heard of his resolution to withdraw his troops, they told him, they hoped he did not intend to march through any of their towns. This made him conclude, that the orders must be general, and that his army would certainly meet with the same treatment which his officers had done. He had like-

likewise, before the armies separated, received information of some designs that concerned the safety, or at least the freedom of his own person, and (which he much more valued) that of those few *British* troops intrusted to his care. No general was ever more truly or deservedly beloved by his soldiers, who, to a man, were prepared to sacrifice their lives in his service; and whose resentments were raised to the utmost, by the ingratitude, as they termed it, of their deserters.

Upon these provocations, he laid aside all thoughts of returning to *Dunkirk*, and began to consider how he might perform, in so difficult a conjuncture, something important to the Queen, and at the same time find a secure retreat for his forces. He formed his plan without communicating it to any person whatsoever; and the disposition of the army being to march towards *Warneton*, in the way to *Dunkirk*, he gave sudden orders to Lieutenant-General

General CADOGAN to change his route, according to the military phrase, and move towards *Orchies*, a town leading directly to *Ghent*.

When Prince EUGENE and the States Deputies received news of the Duke's motions, they were alarmed to the utmost degree, and sent Count NASSAU, of *Wor- denburg*, to the general's camp near *Orchies*, to excuse what had been done, and to assure his Grace, that those commanders, who had refused passage to his officers, had acted wholly without orders. Count HEMPSECK, one of the *Dutch* generals, came likewise to the Duke with the same story; but all this made little impression on the general, who held on his march, and on the twenty-third of *July*, N. S. entered *Ghent*, where he was received with great submission by the inhabitants, and took possession of the town, as he likewise did of *Bruges*, a few days after.

The Duke of ORMOND thought, that considering the present disposition of the
States

States towards *Britain*, it might be necessary for the Queen to have some pledge from that republick in her hands, as well as from *France*, by which means her Majesty would be impowered to act the part that best became her, of being mediator at least : that while *Ghent* was in the Queen's hands, no provisions could pass the *Scheld* or the *Lis* without her permission, by which he had it in his power to starve their army. The possession of these towns might likewise teach the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, to preserve a degree of decency and civility to her Majesty, which both of them were upon some occasions too apt to forget : and besides, there was already in the town of *Ghent*, a battalion of *British*-troops and a detachment of five hundred men in the citadel, together with a great quantity of ammunition-stores for the service of the war, which would certainly have been seized or embezzled ; so that no service could be more seasonable or useful in the present

present juncture than this, which the Queen highly approved, and left the Duke a discretionary power to act as he thought fit on any future emergency.

I have a little intercepted the order of time, in relating the Duke of ORMOND's proceedings, who, after having placed a garrison at *Bruges*, and sent a supply of men and ammunkion to *Dunkirk*, retired to *Ghent*, where he continued some months, till he had leave to return to *England*.

Upon the arrival of Colonel DISNEY to court, with an account that Mr. HILL had taken possession of *Dunkirk*, an universal joy spread over the kingdom, this event being looked on as the certain fore-runner of a peace: besides, the *French* faith was in so ill a reputation among us, that many persons, otherwise sanguine enough, could never bring themselves to believe, that the town would be delivered, till certain intelligence came that it was actually in our hands. Neither were the ministers them-

themselves altogether at ease, or free from suspicion, whatever countenance they made ; for they knew very well, that the *French* King had many plausible reasons to elude his promise, if he found cause to repent it. One condition of surrendering *Dunkirk*, being a general armistice of all the troops in the *British* pay, which her Majesty was not able to perform ; and upon this failure, the Marechal DE VILLARS (as we have before-related) endeavoured to dissuade his court from accepting the conditions : and in the very interval, while those difficulties were adjusting, the Marechal DE HUXELLES, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* (whose inclinations, as well as those of his colleague Mons. MESNAGER, led him to favour the States more than *Britain*) assured the Lord Privy-seal, that the *Dutch* were then pressing to enter into separate measures with his master : and his lordship, in a visit to the Abbé DE POLIGNAC, observing a person to withdraw as he en-

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tered the Abbé's chamber, was told by this minister, that the person he saw was one MOLEAU, of *Amsterdam*, mentioned before, a famous agent for the States with *France*, who had been entertaining him (the Abbé) upon the same subject, but that he had refused to treat with MOLEAU, without the privity of *England*.

Mr. HARLEY, whom we mentioned above to have been sent early in the spring to *Utrecht*, continued longer in *Holland* than was at first expected; but having received her Majesty's farther instructions, was about this time arrived at *Hanover*. It was the misfortune of his Electoral Highness, to be very ill served by Mont. BOTHMAR, his envoy here, who assisted at all the factious meetings of the discontented party, and deceived his master by a false representation of the kingdom, drawn from the opinion of those to whom he confined his conversation. There was likewise at the Elector's court a little *Frenchman*, without any merit or consequence,

quence, called ROBITHAN, who, by the assistance and encouragement of the last ministry, had insinuated himself into some degree of that Prince's favour, which he used in giving his master the worst impressions he was able, of those whom the Queen employed in her service; insinuating, that the present ministers were not in the interest of his Highness's family; that their views were towards the Pretender; that they were making an insecure and dishonourable peace; that the weight of the nation was against them; and that it was impossible for them to preserve much longer their credit or power.

The Earl RIVERS had, in the foregoing year, been sent to *Hanover*, in order to undeceive the Elector, and remove whatever prejudices might be infused into his Highness against her Majesty's proceedings; but it should seem, that he had no very great success in his negotiation: for soon after his return to *England*, Mons.

BOTHMAR's memorial appeared in the manner I have already related, which discovered the sentiments of his Electoral Highness (if they were truly represented in that memorial) to differ not a little from those of the Queen. Mr. HARLEY was therefore directed to take the first opportunity of speaking to the Elector in private, to assure him, "That although
 " her Majesty had thought herself justly
 " provoked by the conduct of his minister,
 " yet such was her affection for his High-
 " ness, and her concern for the interests of
 " his family, that instead of shewing the
 " least mark of resentment, she had chosen
 " to send him (Mr. HARLEY) fully in-
 " structed to open her designs, and shew
 " his Highness the real interest of *Brit-*
 " *tain* in the present conjuncture." Mr.
 HARLEY was to give the Elector a true
 account of what had passed in *England*,
 during the first part of this session of parlia-
 ment; to expose to his Highness the weak-
 ness

ness of those with whom his minister had consulted, and under whose directions he had acted ; to convince him how much lower that faction must become, when a peace should be concluded, and when the natural strength of the kingdom, disincumbered from the burthen of the war, should be at liberty to exert itself; to shew him how his interest in the succession was sacrificed to that of a party: that his Highness had been hitherto a friend to both sides, but that the measures taken by his ministers, had tended only to set him at the head of one in opposition to the other: to explain to the Elector, how fully the safety of *Europe* was provided for by the plan of peace in her Majesty's speech ; and how little reason those would appear to have, who complained the loudest of this plan, if it were compared either with our engagements to them when we began the war, or with their performances in the course of it.

Upon this occasion Mr. HARLEY was to observe to the Elector, " That it should
 " rather be wondered at, how the Queen
 " had brought *France* to offer so much,
 " than yet to offer no more ; because, as
 " soon as ever it appeared, that her Ma-
 " jesty would be at the head of this treaty,
 " and that the interests of *Britain* were
 " to be provided for, such endeavours were
 " used to break off the negotiation, as are
 " hardly to be paralleled ; and the dis-
 " union thereby created among the allies,
 " had given more opportunities to the
 " enemy, being slow in their concessions,
 " than any other measures/ possibly have
 " done : That this want of concert
 " among the allies, could not in any sort
 " be imputed to the Queen, who had all
 " along invited them to it with the greatest
 " earnestness, as the surest means to bring
 " *France* to reason : That she had always,
 " in a particular manner, pressed the
 " States General to come into the strictest
 " union with her, and opened to them
 " her

“ her intentions with the greatest free-
 “ dom ; but finding, that instead of con-
 “ curring with her Majesty, they were
 “ daily carrying on intrigues to break off
 “ the negotiation, and thereby deprive
 “ her of the advantages she might justly
 “ expect from the ensuing peace, having
 “ no other way left, she was forced to act
 “ with *France* as she did, by herself :
 “ That, however, the Queen had not
 “ taken upon herself to determine the
 “ interests of the allies, who were at li-
 “ berty of insisting on farther pretensions,
 “ wherein her Majesty would not be want-
 “ ing to support them as far as she was
 “ able, and improve the concessions al-
 “ ready made by *France* ; in which case,
 “ a good understanding and harmony
 “ among the confederates, would yet be
 “ of the greatest use for making the ene-
 “ my more tractable and easy.”

I have been more particular in reciting
 the substance of Mr. HARLEY's instruc-
 tions, because it will serve as a recapitula-

tion of what I have already said upon this subject, and seems to set her Majesty's intentions, and proceedings at this time, in the clearest light.

After the cessation of arms declared by the Duke of ORMOND, upon the delivery of *Dunkirk*, the *British* plenipotentiaries very earnestly pressed those of *Holland* to come into a general armistice; for if the whole confederacy acted in conjunction, this would certainly be the best means for bringing the common enemy to reasonable terms of peace: but the States, deluded by the boundless promises of Count ZINZENDORF, and the undertaking talent of Prince EUGENE, who dreaded the conclusion of the war, as the period of his glory, would not hear of a cessation. The loss of eighteen thousand *Britons* was not a diminution of weight in the balance of such an ally as the Emperor, and such a general as the Prince. Besides, they looked upon themselves to be still superior to *France* in the field; and
although

although their computation was certainly right in point of number, yet, in my opinion, the conclusion drawn from it, was grounded upon a great mistake. I have been assured by several persons of our own country, and some foreigners of the first rank, both for skill and station in arms, that in most victories obtained in the present war, the *British* troops were ever employed in the post of danger and honour, and usually began the attack (being allowed to be naturally more fearless than the people of any other country), by which they were not only an example of courage to the rest, but must be acknowledged, without partiality, to have governed the fortune of the day; since it is known enough, how small a part of an army is generally engaged in any battle. It may likewise be added, that nothing is of greater moment in war than opinion. The *French*, by their frequent losses, which they chiefly attributed to the courage of our men, believed that a *British* general,

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at the head of *British* troops, was not to be overcome; and the Marechal DE VILLARS was quickly sensible of the advantage he had got; for, in a very few days after the desertion of the allies, happened the Earl of ALBEMARLE's disgrace at *Denain*, by a feint of the Marechal's, and a manifest failure somewhere or other, both of courage and conduct on the side of the confederates. The blame of which was equally shared between Prince EUGENE and the Earl; although it is certain, the Duke of ORMOND gave the latter timely warning of his danger, observing he was neither intrenched as he ought, nor provided with bridges sufficient for the situation he was in, and at such a distance from the main army.

The Marquis DE TORCY had likewise the same sentiments, of what mighty consequence those few *British* battalions were to the confederate army; since he advised his master to deliver up *Dunkirk*, although the Queen could not perform
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the condition understood, which was a cessation of arms of all the foreign forces in her pay.

It must be owned, that Mons. DE TORCY made great merit of this confidence that his master placed in the Queen; and observing her Majesty's displeasure against the *Dutch*, on account of their late proceedings, endeavoured to inflame it with aggravations enough; insinuating, that, since the States had acted so ungratefully, the Queen should let her forces join with those of *France*, in order to compel the confederates to a peace. But although this overture were very tenderly hinted from the *French* court, her Majesty heard it with the utmost abhorrence; and ordered her Secretary, Mr. ST. JOHN (created about this time Viscount BOLINGBROKE), to tell Mons. DE TORCY, "That no provocations whatever
" should tempt her to distress her allies;
" but she would endeavour to bring them
" to reason by fair means, or leave them
" to

“to their own conduct: That if the
 “former should be found impracticable,
 “she would then make her own peace,
 “and content herself with doing the of-
 “fice of a mediator between both parties :
 “but if the States should at any time
 “come to a better mind, and suffer their
 “ministers to act in conjunction with
 “her’s, she would assert their just in-
 “terests to the utmost, and make no far-
 “ther progress in any treaty with *France*,
 “until those allies received all reasonable
 “satisfaction, both as to their barrier and
 “their trade.” The *British* plenipoten-
 tiaries were directed to give the same as-
 surances to the *Dutch* ministers at *Utrecht*,
 and withal to let them know, “That the
 “Queen was determined, by their late
 “conduct, to make peace either with or
 “without them; but would much rather
 “choose the former.”

There was, however, one advantage
 which her Majesty resolved to make by
 this defection of her foreigners. She had

been led, by the mistaken politicks of some years past, to involve herself in several guaranties with the princes of the North, which were, in some sort, contradictory to one another; but this conduct of their's wholly annulled all such engagements, and left her at liberty to interpose in the affairs of those parts of *Europe*, in such a manner as would best serve the interests of her own kingdoms, as well as that of the Protestant religion, and settle a due balance of power in the North.

The grand article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*, was to be executed during a cessation of arms. But many difficulties arising about that, and some other points of great importance to the common cause, which could not easily be adjusted either between the *French* and *British* plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, or by correspondence between Mons. DE TORCY and the ministry here; the Queen took the resolution of sending the Lord
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VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE immediately to *France*, fully instructed in all her intentions, and authorised to negotiate every thing necessary for settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as might bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. He was impowered to agree to a general suspension of arms, by sea and land, between *Great Britain*, *France* and *Spain*, to continue for four months, or until the conclusion of the peace; provided *France* and *Spain* would previously give positive assurances to make good the terms demanded by her Majesty for the Duke of *Savoy*, and would likewise adjust and determine the forms of the several renunciations to be made by both those crowns, in order to prevent their being ever united. The Lord BOLINGBROKE was likewise authorised to settle some differences relating to the Elector of *Bavaria*, for whose interests *France* was so much concerned as her Majesty was for these of the Duke of *Savoy*; to explain all doubtful articles which

which particularly related to the advantages of *Britain*; to know the real ultimatum, as it is termed, of *France* upon the general plan of peace; and lastly, to cut off all hopes from that court of ever bringing the Queen to force her allies to a disadvantageous peace; her Majesty resolving to impose no scheme at all upon them, or to debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain the best conditions they could.

The Lord BOLINGBROKE went to *France* in the beginning of *August*, was received at court with particular marks of distinction and respect; and in a very few days, by his usual address and ability, performed every part of his commission, extremely to the Queen's content and his own honour. He returned to *England* before the end of the month; but Mr. PRIOR, who went along with him, was left behind, to adjust whatever differences might remain or arise between the two crowns.

In the mean time the general conferences at *Utrecht*, which for several weeks had been let fall, since the delivery of *Dunkirk*, were now resumed. But the *Dutch* still declaring against a suspension of arms, and refusing to accept the Queen's speech as a plan to negotiate upon, there was no progress made for some time in the great work of the peace. Whereupon the *British* plenipotentiaries told those of the States, " That if the
 " Queen's endeavours could not procure
 " more than the contents of her speech,
 " or if the *French* should ever fall short of
 " what was there offered, the *Dutch*
 " could blame none but themselves, who,
 " by their conduct, had rendered things
 " difficult, that would otherwise have been
 " easy." However, her Majesty thought it prudent to keep the States still in hopes of her good offices, to prevent them from taking the desperate course of leaving themselves wholly at the mercy of *France*; which was an expedient they
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formerly practised, and which a party among them was now inclined to advise.

Whilst the congress at *Utrecht* remained in this inactive state, the Queen proceeded to perfect that important article for preventing the union of *France* and *Spain*. It was proposed and accepted, that PHILIP should renounce *France*, for himself and his posterity; and that the most Christian King, and all the princes of his blood, should, in the like manner, renounce *Spain*.

It must be confessed, that this project of renunciation lay under a great disrepute, by the former practices of this very King, LEWIS XIV. pursuant to an absurd notion among many in that kingdom, of a divine right, annexed to proximity of blood, not to be controlled by any human law.

But it is plain, the *French* themselves had recourse to this method, after all their infractions of it, since the *Pyrenean* treaty; for the first Dauphin, in whom the original claim was vested, renounced, for himself and his eldest

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son, which opened the way to PHILIP Duke of *Anjou*; who would however hardly have succeeded, if it had not been for the will made in his favour by the last King, CHARLES II.

It is indeed hard to reflect, with any patience, upon the unaccountable stupidity of the princes of *Europe* for some centuries past, who left a probability to *France* of succeeding in a few ages to all their dominions; whilst, at the same time, no alliance with that kingdom could be of advantage to any prince, by reason of the Salique law. Should not common prudence have taught every sovereign in *Christendom* to enact a Salique law, with respect to *France*; for want of which, it is almost a miracle, that the BOURBON family hath not possessed the universal monarchy by right of inheritance? When the *French* assert a proximity of blood gives a divine right, as some of their ministers, who ought to be more wise or honest, have lately advanced in this very case,

case, to the title of *Spain*; do they not, by allowing a *French* succession, make their own kings usurpers? Or, if the Salique law be divine, is it not of universal obligation, and consequently of force, to exclude *France* from inheriting by daughters? Or, lastly, if that law be of human institution, may it not be enacted in any state, with whatever extent or limitation the legislature shall think fit? For the notion of an unchangeable human law is an absurdity in government, to be believed only by ignorance, and supported by power. From hence it follows, that the children of the late Queen of *France*, although she had renounced, were as legally excluded from succeeding to *Spain*, as if the Salique law had been fundamental in that kingdom; since that exclusion was established by every power in *Spain*, which could possibly give a sanction to any law there; and therefore the Duke of *Anjou's* title is wholly founded upon the bequest of his predecessor (which hath great au-

thority in that monarchy, as it formerly had in our's), upon the confirmation of the Cortes, and the general consent of the people.

It is certain, the faith of princes is so frequently subservient to their ambition, that renunciations have little validity, otherwise than from the powers and parties whose interest it is to support them. But this renunciation, which the Queen hath exacted from the *French* King and his grandson, I take it to be armed with all the essential circumstances that can fortify such an act. For as it is necessary, for the security of every prince in *Europe*, that those two great kingdoms should never be united; so the chief among them will readily consent to be guarantees for preventing such a misfortune.

Besides, this proposal (according to her Majesty's expression in her speech) is of such a nature, that it executes itself, because the *Spaniards*, who dread such an union, for every reason that can have weight

among men, took care that their King should not only renounce, in the most solemn manner; but likewise, that the act should be framed in the strongest terms themselves could invent, or we could furnish them with. As to *France*, upon supposal of the young Dauphin's dying in a few years, that kingdom will not be in a condition to engage in a long war against a powerful alliance, fortified with the addition of the *Spaniards*, and the party of the Duke of *Berry*, or whoever else shall be next claimer: and the longer the present Dauphin lives, the weaker must PHILIP's interest be in *France*; because the princes, who are to succeed by this renunciation, will have most power and credit in the kingdom.

The mischiefs occasioned by the want of a good understanding between the allies, especially *Britain* and *Holland*, were raised every day; the *French* taking the advantage, and raising difficulties, not only upon the general plan of peace, but

likewise upon the explanation of several articles in the projected treaty between them and her Majesty: They insisted to have *Lisle*, as the equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and demanded *Tournay*, *Maubeuge*, and *Condé*, for the two or three towns mentioned in the Queen's speech; which the *British* plenipotentiaries were so far from allowing, that they refused to confer with those of *France* upon that foot; although, at the same time, the former had fresh apprehensions that the *Dutch*, in a fit of despair, would accept whatever terms the enemy pleased to offer, and, by precipitating their own peace, prevent her Majesty from obtaining any advantages, both for her allies and herself.

It is most certain, that the repeated losses suffered by the States, in little more than two months after they had withdrawn themselves from the Queen's assistance, did wholly disconcert their counsels; and their prudence (as it is usual) began to forsake them with their good-fortune.

fortune. They were so weak as to be still deluded by their friends in *England*, who continued to give them hopes of some mighty and immediate resource from hence; for when the Duke of ORMOND had been about a month in *Ghent*, he received a letter from the Marechal DE VILLARS, to inform him, that the *Dutch* generals, taken at *Denain*, had told the Marechal publicly, of a sudden revolution expected in *Britain*; that particularly the Earl of ALBEMARLE and Mons. HOMPESCH discoursed very freely of it; and that nothing was more commonly talked of in *Holland*. It was then likewise confidently reported in *Ghent*, that the Queen was dead; and we all remember what rumour flew about here at the very same time, as if her Majesty's health were in a bad condition.

Whether such vain hopes as these gave spirit to the *Dutch*; whether their frequent misfortunes made them angry and sullen; whether they still expected to over-

reach us by some private stipulations with *France*, thro' the mediation of the Elector of *Bavaria*, as that Prince afterwards gave out; or whatever else was the cause, they utterly refused a cessation of arms; and made not the least return to all the advances and invitations made by her Majesty, until the close of the campaign.

It was then the States first began to view their affairs in another light; to consider how little the vast promises of Count ZINZENDORF were to be relied on; to be convinced that *France* was not disposed to break with her Majesty, only to gratify their ill-humour, or unreasonable demands; to discover that their factious correspondents on this side the water had shamefully misled them; that some of their own principal towns grew heartily weary of the war, and backward in their loans; and, lastly, that Prince EUGENE, their new general, whether his genius or fortune had left him, was not for their turn. They, therefore, directed their mini-

ministers at *Utrecht* to signify to the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of STRAFFORD, " That the States were disposed to comply with her Majesty, and to desire her " good offices with *France*; particularly, " that *Tournay* and *Condé* might be left to " them as part of their barrier, without " which they could not be safe: That " the Elector of *Bavaria* might not be " suffered to retain any town in the *Netherlands*, which would be as bad for " *Holland* as if those places were in the " hands of *France*: Therefore the States " proposed, that *Luxembourg*, *Namur*, " *Charleroy*, and *Nieuport*, might be delivered to the Emperor. Lastly, That " the *French* might not insist on excepting " the four species of goods out of the tariff " of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four: That if her Majesty could prevail " with *France* to satisfy their masters on " these articles, they would be ready to " submit in all the rest."

When the Queen received an account of this good disposition in the States

States General, immediately orders were sent to Mr. PRIOR, to inform the ministers of the *French* court, "That her Majesty had now some hopes of the "*Dutch* complying with her measures; and therefore she resolved, as she had always declared, whenever those allies came to themselves, not to make the peace without their reasonable satisfaction." The difficulty that most pressed, was about the disposal of *Tournay* and *Condé*. The *Dutch* insisted strongly to have both, and the *French* were extremely unwilling to part with either.

The Queen judged the former would suffice, for completing the barrier of the States. Mr. PRIOR was therefore directed to press the Marquis DE TORCY effectually on this head, and to terminate all that minister's objections, by assuring him of her Majesty's resolutions to appear openly on the side of the *Dutch*, if this demand were refused. It was thought convenient to act in this resolute manner
with

with *France*, whose late success, against *Holland*, had taught the ministers of the most Christian King to resume their old imperious manner of treating with that republick; to which they were farther encouraged by the ill understanding between her Majesty and the allies.

This appeared from the result of an idle quarrel that happened, about the end of *August*, at *Utrecht*, between a *French* and a *Dutch* plenipotentiary, Mons. MESNAGER and Count RECHTEREN; wherein the court of *France* demanded such abject submissions, and with so much haughtiness, as plainly shewed they were pleased with any occasion of mortifying the *Dutch*.

Besides, the politicks of the *French* ran at this time very opposite to those of *Britain*: They thought the ministers here durst not meet the parliament without a peace; and that, therefore, her Majesty would either force the States to comply with *France*, by delivering up *Tournay*, which was the principal point in dispute,
or

or would finish her own peace with *France* and *Spain*, leaving a fixed time for *Holland* to refuse or accept the terms imposed on them. But the Queen, who thought the demand of *Tournay* by the States to be very necessary and just, was determined to insist upon it, and to declare openly against *France*, rather than suffer her ally to want a place so useful for their barrier. And Mr. PRIOR was ordered to signify this resolution of her Majesty to Mons. DE TORCY, in case that minister could not be otherwise prevailed on.

The *British* plenipotentiaries did likewise, at the same time, express to those of *Holland* her Majesty's great satisfaction, that the States were at last disposed to act in confidence with her: "That she wished this resolution had been sooner taken, since nobody had gained by the delay, but the *French* King; that, however, her Majesty did not question the procuring a safe and honourable peace, by united councils,

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reasonable demands, and prudent measures; that she would assist them in getting whatever was necessary to their barrier, and in settling, to their satisfaction, the exceptions made by *France* out of the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four; that no other difficulties remained of moment to retard the peace, since the Queen had obtained *Sicily* for the Duke of *Steuoy*; and, in the settlement of the *Low Countries*, would adhere to what she delivered from the throne: That as to the Empire, her Majesty heartily wished their barrier as good as could be desired; but that we were not now in circumstances to expect every thing exactly according to the scheme of *Holland*: *France* had already offered a great part, and the Queen did not think the remainder worth the continuance of the war."

Her Majesty conceived the peace in so much forwardness, that she thought fit, about this time, to nominate the Duke of
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HAMILTON and the Lord LEXINGTON for ambassadors in *France* and *Spain*, to receive the renunciations in both courts, and adjust matters of commerce.

The Duke was preparing for his journey, when he was challenged to a duel by the Lord MOHUN, a person of infamous character. He killed his adversary upon the spot, tho' he himself received a wound; and, weakened by the loss of blood, as he was leaning in the arms of his second, was most barbarously stabbed in the breast by Lieutenant-general MACARTNEY, who was second to Lord MOHUN. He died a few minutes after in the field; and the murderer made his escape. I thought so surprising an event might deserve barely to be related, although it be something foreign to my subject.

The Earl of STRAFFORD, who had come to *England* in last, in order to give her Majesty an account of the disposition of affairs in *Holland*, was now returning with her last instructions, to let the *Dutch* minister know, " That some
" points

" points would probably meet with diffi-
 " culties not to be overcome, which once
 " might have been easily obtained : To
 " show what evil consequences had al-
 " ready flowed from their delay and irre-
 " solution, and to intreat them to fix on
 " some proposition, reasonable in itself, as
 " well as possible to be effected : That
 " the Queen would insist upon the cession
 " of *Tournay* by *France*, provided the
 " States would concur in finishing the
 " peace, without starting new objections,
 " or insisting upon farther points : That
 " the *French* demands, in favour of the
 " Elector of *Beveria*, appeared to be
 " such as, the Queen was of opinion, the
 " States ought to agree to; which were,
 " to leave the Elector in possession of
 " *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*, sub-
 " ject to the terms of their barrier, until
 " he should be restored to his electorate;
 " and to give him the kingdom of *Sardi-*
 " *nia*, to efface the stain of his degrada-
 " tion in the Electoral College : That the
 " Earl

" Earl had brought over a project of a
 " new treaty of succession and truce,
 " which her Majesty insisted the States
 " should sign, before the conclusion of
 " the peace, the former treaty having
 " been disadvantageous to her subjects,
 " containing in it the seeds of future dis-
 " sensions, and condemned by the sense
 " of the nation. Lastly, That her Ma-
 " jesty, notwithstanding all provocations,
 " had, for the sake of the *Dutch*, and in
 " hopes of their recovery from those false
 " notions which had so long misled them;
 " hitherto kept the negotiations open:
 " That the offers now made them were
 " her last, and this the last time she would
 " apply to them: That they must either
 " agree, or expect the Queen would pro-
 " ceed immediately to conclude her treaty
 " with *France and Spain*, in conjunction
 " with such of her allies as would think
 " to adhere to her.

" As to *Savoy*, that the Queen ex-
 " pected the States would concur with
 " her

her in making good the advantages stipulated for that Duke, and in prevailing with the Emperor to consent to an absolute neutrality in *Italy*, until the peace should be concluded."

The governing party in *Holland*, however in appearance disposed to finish, affected new delays, and raised many difficulties about the four species of goods, which the *French* had excepted out of the tariff. Count ZINZENDORF, the Emperor's plenipotentiary, did all that was possible to keep up this humour in the *Dutch*, in hopes to put them under a necessity of preparing for the next campaign ; and sometime after went so far in this pursuit, that he summoned the several ministers of the empire, told them he had letters from his master, with orders to signify to them, " That his Imperial Majesty resolved to begin the " campaign early, with all his forces " united against *France* ; of which he " desired they would send notice to all

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“their courts, that the several princes
 “might be ready to furnish their contin-
 “gents and recruits.” At the same time
 ZINZENDORF endeavoured to borrow two
 millions of florins upon the security of
 some Imperial cities; but could not suc-
 ceed either amongst the Jews or at *Am-
 sterdam*.

When the Earl of STRAFFORD arrived
 at *Utrecht*, the Lord Privy-seal and he
 communicated to the *Dutch* ministers the
 new treaty for a succession and barrier, as
 the Queen had ordered it to be prepared
 here in *England*, differing from the former
 in several points of the greatest moment,
 obvious to any who will be at the pains
 to compare them. This was strenuously
 opposed for several weeks by the plenipo-
 tentiaries of the States; but the province of
Utrecht, where the congress was held, im-
 mediately sent orders to their representa-
 tives at the *Hague*, to declare their pro-
 vince thankful to the Queen, that they
 agreed the peace should be made on the
 terms

terms proposed by *France*, and consented to the new projected treaty of barrier and succession : and about the close of the year, One thousand seven hundred and twelve, four of the seven provinces, had delivered their opinions for putting an end to the war.

This unusual precipitation in the States, so different from the whole tenour of their former conduct, was very much suspected by the *British* plenipotentiaries. Their lordships had received intelligence, that the *Dutch* ministers held frequent conferences with those of *France*, and had offered to settle their interests with that crown, without the concurrence of *Britain*. Count ZINZENDORF, and his colleagues, appeared likewise, all on the sudden, to have the same dispositions, and to be in great haste to settle their several differences with the States. The reasons for this proceeding were visible enough ; many difficulties were yet undetermined in the treaty of commerce between her

Majesty and *France*, for the adjusting of which, and some other points, the Queen had lately dispatched the Duke of SHREWSBURY to that court. Some of these were of hard digestion, with which the most Christian King would not be under a necessity of complying, when he had no farther occasion for us, and might, upon that account, afford better terms to the other two powers. Besides, the Emperor and the States could very well spare her Majesty the honour of being arbitrator of a general peace; and the latter hoped by this means, to avoid the new treaty of barrier and succession, which we were now forcing on them.

To prevent the consequences of this evil, there fortunately fell out an incident, which the two lords at *Utrecht* knew well to make use of: the quarrel between Mons. MESNAGER and Count RICHTEREN (formerly mentioned) had not yet been made up. The *French* and *Dutch* differing in some circumstances, about
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the satisfaction to be given by the Count for the affront he had offered, the *British* plenipotentiaries kept this dispute on foot for several days; and, in the mean time, pressed the *Dutch* to finish the new treaty of barrier and succession between her Majesty and them, which, about the middle of *January*, was concluded fully to the Queen's satisfaction.

But while these debates and differences continued at the congress, the Queen resolved to put a speedy end to her part in the war; she therefore sent orders to the Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of STRAF-FORD, to prepare every thing necessary for signing her own treaty with *France*. This she hoped might be done against the meeting of her own parliament, now-pro-rogued to the third of *February*; in which time, those among the allies, who were really inclined towards a peace, might settle their several interests by the assistance and support of her Majesty's plenipoten-tiaries; and as for the rest, who would

either refuse to comply, or endeavour to protract the negociation, the heads of their respective demands, which *France* had yielded by her Majesty's intervention, and agreeable to the plan laid down in her speech, should be mentioned in the treaty, and a time limited for the several powers concerned to receive or reject them.

The Pretender was not yet gone out of *France*, upon some difficulties alledged by the *French*, about procuring him a safe conduct to *Bar-le-duc*, in the Duke of *Lorrain's* dominions, where it was then proposed he should reside. The Queen, altogether bent upon quieting the minds of her subjects, declared, she would not sign the peace till that person were removed; although several wise men believed he could be no where less dangerous to *Britain*, than in the place where he was.

The argument which most prevailed on the States to sign the new treaty of barrier and succession with *Britain*, was her Majesty's

jesty's promise to procure *Tournay* for them from *France*; after which, no more differences remained between us and that republick, and consequently they had no farther temptations to any separate transactions with the *French*, who thereupon began to renew their litigious and haughty manner of treating with the *Dutch*. The satisfaction they extorted for the affront given by Count RICHTEREN to Mons. MESNAGER, although somewhat softened by the *British* ministers at *Utrecht*, was yet so rigorous, that her Majesty could not forbear signifying her resentment of it to the most Christian King. Mons. MESNAGER, who seemed to have more the genius of a merchant than a minister, began, in his conferences with the plenipotentiaries of the States, to raise new disputes upon points which both we and they had reckoned upon as wholly settled. The Abbé DE POLIGNAC, a most accomplished person, of great generosity and universal understanding, was gone to *France* to re-

ceive the cardinal's cap; and the Mar-
chal DE HUXELLES was wholly guided
by his colleague, Mons. MESNAGER, who
kept up those brangles, that for a time ob-
structed the peace; some of which were
against all justice, and others of small im-
portance, both of very little advantage to
his country, and less to the reputation of
his master or himself. This low talent in
business, which the Cardinal DE POLIG-
NAC used, in contempt, to call a *Spirit of*
Negotiating, made it impossible for the
two lords, plenipotentiaries, with all their
abilities and experience, to bring MES-
NAGER to reason, in several points both
with us and the States: his concessions
were few and constrained, serving only to
render him more tenacious of what he
refused. In several of the towns, which
the States were to keep, he insisted that
France should retain the chateaulanics, or
extent of country depending on them,
particularly that of *Tournay*; a demand
the more unjustifiable, because he knew
his

his master had not only proceeded directly contrary, but had erected a court in his kingdom, where his own judges extended the territories about those towns he had taken, as far as he pleased to direct them: Mons. MESNAGER shewed equal obstinacy in what his master expected for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and in refusing the tariff of One thousand six hundred and sixty-four: so that the Queen's plenipotentiaries represented these difficulties as what might be of dangerous consequence, both to the peace in general, and to the States in particular, if they were not speedily prevented.

Upon these considerations her Majesty thought it her shortest and safest course to apply directly to *France*, where she had then so able a minister as the Duke of SHREWSBURY.

The Marquis DE TORCY, secretary to the most Christian King, was the minister with whom the Duke was to treat, as having been the first who moved his mas-

ter to apply to the Queen for a peace, in opposition to a violent faction in that kingdom, who were as eagerly bent to continue the war, as any other could be either here or, in *Holland*.

It would be very unlike a historian, to refuse this great minister the praise he so justly deserveth, of having treated, through the whole course of so great a negociation, with the utmost candour and integrity; never once failing in any promise he made, and tempering a firm zeal to his master's interest, with a ready compliance to what was reasonable and just. Mr. PRIOR, whom I have formerly mentioned, resided likewise now at *Paris*, with the character of minister-plenipotentiary, and was very acceptable to that court, upon the score of his wit and humour.

The Duke of SHREWSBURY was directed to press the *French* court upon the points yet unsettled in the treaty of commerce between both crowns; to make them drop their unreasonable demands
for

for the Elector of *Bavaria*; to let them know, that the Queen was resolved not to forsake her allies who were now ready to come in; that she thought the best way of hastening the general peace, was to determine her own particular one with *France*, until which time she could not conveniently suffer her parliament to meet.

The States were, by this time, so fully convinced of the Queen's sincerity and affection to their republick, and how much they had been deceived by the insinuations of the factious party in *England*, that they wrote a very humble letter to her Majesty, to desire her assistance towards settling those points they had in dispute with *France*, and professing themselves ready to acquiesce in whatever explanation her Majesty would please to make of the plan proposed in her speech to the parliament.

But the Queen had already prevented their desires; and in the beginning of *February*, One thousand seven hundred and twelve-thirteen, directed the Duke of

SHREWS-

SHREWSBURY to inform the *French* court,
“ That since she had prevailed on her al-
“ lies, the *Dutch*, to drop the demand of
“ *Condé*, and the other of the four species
“ of goods, which the *French* had excepted
“ out of the tariff of One thousand six
“ hundred and sixty-four, she would not
“ sign without them : That she approved
“ of the *Dutch* insisting to have the cha-
“ tellanies restored, with the towns, and
“ was resolved to stand or fall with them,
“ until they were satisfied in this point.”

Her Majesty had some apprehensions,
that the *French* created these difficulties on
purpose to spin out the treaty, until the
campaign should begin. They thought
it absolutely necessary, that our parliament
should meet in a few weeks, which could
not well be ventured, until the Queen
were able to tell both houses, that her own
peace was signed : That this would not
only facilitate what remained in difference
between *Britain* and *France*, but leave the
Dutch entirely at the mercy of the latter.
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The Queen, weary of these refined mistakes in the *French* politicks, and fully resolved to be trifled with no longer, sent her determinate orders to the Duke of SHREWSBURY, to let *France* know, "That
 " her Majesty had hitherto prorogued her
 " parliament, in hopes of accommodating
 " the difficulties in her own treaties of
 " peace and commerce with that crown, as
 " well as settling the interests of her several
 " allies ; or, at least, that the differences
 " in the former being removed, the most
 " Christian King would have made such
 " offers for the latter, as might justify her
 " Majesty in signing her own peace, whe-
 " ther the confederates intended to sign
 " their's or no. But several points being
 " yet unfinished between both crowns,
 " and others between *France* and the rest
 " of the allies, especially the States, to
 " which the plenipotentiaries of that
 " court at *Utrecht* had not thought fit to
 " give satisfaction ; the Queen was now
 " come to a final determination, both with

" re-

" relation to her own kingdoms; and to
 " the whole alliance. That the campaign
 " approaching, she would not willingly be
 " surprised in case the war was to go on.
 " That she had transmitted to the Duke
 " of SHREWSBURY, her last resolutions,
 " and never would be prevailed on to re-
 " duce her own demands, or those of her
 " allies, any lower than the scheme now
 " sent over, as an explanation of the plan
 " laid down in her speech. That her Ma-
 " jesty had sent orders to her plenipoten-
 " tiaries at *Utrecht*, to assume the cha-
 " racter of ambassadors, and sign the peace
 " immediately with the ministers of the
 " most Christian King, as soon as the
 " Duke of SHREWSBURY should have sent
 " them notice that the *French* had com-
 " plied: That the Queen had therefore
 " farther prorogued her parliament to the
 " third of *March*, in hopes to assure them,
 " by that time, of her peace being agreed
 " on; for if the two houses should meet,
 " while any uncertainty remained, sup-
 " plies must be asked, as for a war."

The

LAST YEARS OF THE QUEEN. 383

The Duke of SURRESBURY executed this important commission with that speed and success, which could only be expected from an able minister. The *French King* immediately yielded to the whole scheme her Majesty proposed; whereupon directions were sent to the Lord Privy-seal, and the Earl of STRAFFORD, to sign a peace between *Great Britain and France*, without delay.

Upon the second day of *March*, the two *British* plenipotentiaries met those of the allies in the Town-house at *Utrecht*; where the Lord Privy-seal addressed himself to them in a short speech, "That the negotiation had now continued fourteen months with great slownels, which had proved very injurious to the interests of the allies: That the Queen had staid thus long, and stopped the finishing her own peace, rather than leave her allies in any uncertainty: That she hoped they would now be all prepared to put an end to this great work;"

“and therefore had commanded her plenipotentiaries to tell these of the allies, “That she found it necessary to conclude her own treaty immediately; and it “was her opinion, that the confederates “ought to finish their’s at the same time, “to which they were now accordingly invited by her Majesty’s orders.” And lastly, his lordship declared, in the Queen’s name, “That whoever could not be ready on the “day prefixed, should have a convenient “time allowed them to come in.”

Although the orders sent by the Queen to her plenipotentiaries were very precise, yet their lordships did not precipitate the performance of them. They were directed to appoint as short a day for the signing as they conveniently could; but, however, the particular day was left to their discretion. They hoped to bring over the *Dutch*, and most of the other allies, to conclude at the same time with the Queen; which, as it would certainly be more popular to their country, so they con-

conceived it would be more safe for themselves: besides, upon looking over their commission, a scruple sprang in their minds, that they could not sign a particular peace with *France*; their powers, as they apprehended, authorising them only to sign a general one. Their lordships therefore sent to *England* to desire new powers, and, in the mean time, employed themselves with great industry, between the ministers of *France* and those of the several allies, to find some expedient for smoothing the way to an agreement among them.

The Earl of STRAFFORD went for a few days to the *Hague*, to inform the States of her Majesty's express commands to his colleague and himself, for signing the peace as soon as possible; and to desire they would be ready at the same time, which the Pensionary promised; and that their plenipotentiaries should be empowered accordingly, to the great contentment of Monsr. Buys, who was now so much altered, either in reality, or appearance, that he complained to the Earl of Monsr. HEINSIUS's slowness; and charged all the de-

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lays and mismanagements of a twelve-month past, to that minister's account.

While the Earl of STRAFFORD staid at the *Hague*, he discovered that an emissary of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's had been there some days before, sent by his Grace to dissuade the *Dutch* from signing at the same time with the ministers of the Queen, which, in *England*, would at least have the appearance of a separate peace, and oblige their *British* friends, who knew how to turn so short a delay to very good account, as well as gratify the Emperor; on whom, it was alledged, they ought to rely much more than on her Majesty. One of the States likewise told the Earl, "That
 " the same person, employed by the Duke,
 " was then in conference with the magistrates
 " of *Rotterdam* (which town had declared
 " for the continuance of the war), to assure
 " them, if they would hold off a little, they
 " should see an unexpected turn in the *Bri-*
 " *tish* parliament: That the Duke of MARL-
 " BOROUGH had a list of the discontented
 " members in both houses, who were ready
 " to turn against the court; and, to crown
 " all, that his Grace had certain intelligence
 " of

“ of the Queen being in so ill a state of health,
 “ as made it impossible for her to live above
 “ six weeks.” So restless and indefatigable
 is avarice and ambition, when inflamed by
 a desire of revenge.

But representations, which had been so
 often tried, were now offered too late. Most
 of the allies, except the Emperor, were will-
 ing to put an end to the war upon her Ma-
 jesty's plan; and the further delay of three
 weeks must be chiefly imputed to that liti-
 gious manner of treating; peculiar to the
French; whose plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* in-
 sisted with obstinacy upon many points, which
 at *Paris* Mons. DE TORCY had given up.

The Emperor expected to keep all he al-
 ready possessed in *Italy*; that *Portlongue*, on
 the *Tuscan* coast, should be delivered to him
 by *France*; and, lastly, that he should not be
 obliged to renounce *Spain*. But the Queen,
 as well as *France*, thought that his Imperial
 Majesty ought to sit down contented with his
 partage of *Naples* and *Milan*; and to restore
 those territories in *Italy*, which he had
 taken from the rightful proprietors, and
 by the possession of which he was grown

dangerous to the *Italian* princes, by reviving antiquated claims upon them.

This Prince had likewise objected to Her Majesty's expedient of suffering the Elector of *Bavaria* to retain *Lucemburg*, under certain conditions, by way of security, until his electorate were restored. But the Queen, supposing that these affected delays were intended only with a view of continuing the war, resolved to defer the peace no longer on the Emperor's account.

In the middle of *March*, One thousand seven hundred and twelve-thirteen, a courier arrived at *Utrecht* from *France*, with the plan of a general peace, as it had been agreed between the Duke of *SURREYSBURY* and Mons. DE TORCY; wherein every particular, relating to the interests and pretensions of the several allies, was brought so near to what each of them would accept, that the *British* plenipotentiaries hoped the peace would be general in ten or twelve days. The *Portuguese* and *Dutch* were already prepared; and others were daily coming in, by means of their lordship's good offices, who found Mons.

MESNAGER and his colleagues very stubborn to the last. Another courier was dispatched to *France*, upon some disputes about inserting the titles of her Majesty and the most Christian King, and to bring a general plan for the interests of these allies, who should not be ready against the time prefixed. The *French* remunciations were now arrived at *Utrecht*, and it was agreed, that those, as well as that of the King of *Spain*, should be inserted at length in every treaty, by which means the whole confederacy would become guaranties of them.

The courier, last sent to *France*, returned to *Utrecht* on the twenty-seventh of *March*, with the concessions of that court upon every necessary point; so that, all things being ready for putting a period to this great and difficult work, the Lord Privy-seal and the Earl of STRAFFORD gave notice to the ministers of the several allies; "That their Lordships had appointed *Tuesday* the thirty-first instant, wherein to sign a treaty of peace, and a treaty of commerce, between the Queen of *Great Britain*, their mistress, and the most Christian King; and hoped the said allies

" would

"would be prepared, at the same time, to follow their example." Accordingly their Lordships employed the three intervening days, in smoothing the few difficulties that remained between the *French* ministers and those of the several confederate powers.

The important day being now come, the Lord Bishop of BRISTOL and the Earl of STRAFFORD, having assumed the character of ambassadors extraordinary, gave a memorial in behalf of the *French* protestants to the Marechal DE HUXELLES and his colleague, who were to transmit it to their court; and these delivered to the *British* ambassadors a declaration in writing, that the Pretender was actually gone out of *France*.

The conditions of peace to be allowed the Emperor and the Empire, as adjusted between *Britain* and *France*, were now likewise delivered to the Count ZINZENDORF. These and some other previous matters of smaller consequence being finished, the treaties of peace and commerce between her Majesty of *Britain* and the most Christian King, were signed at the Lord Privy-seal's house between two and three of the clock in the afternoon.

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The ministers of the Duke of Savoy signed about an hour after. Then the assembly adjourned to the Earl of STRAFFORD's, where they all went to dinner; and about nine at night the peace was signed by the ministers of *Portugal*, by those of *Prussia* at eleven, and when it was near midnight by the States.

Thus after all the opposition raised by a strong party in *France*, and by a virulent faction in *Britain*; after all the artifices of those who presided at the *Hague*, and, for their private interest, endeavoured, in conjunction with their friends in *England*, to prolong the war; after the restless endeavours of the Imperial court to render the treaty ineffectual; the firm steady conduct of the Queen, the wisdom and courage of her ministry, and the abilities of those whom she employed in her negotiations abroad, prevailed to have a peace signed in one day by every power concerned, except that of the Emperor and the Empire; for his Imperial Majesty liked his situation too well to think of a peace, while the drudgery and expences of the war lay upon other shoulders, and the advantages were to rebound only to himself.

During this whole negociation, the King of *Spain*, who was not acknowledged by any of the confederates, had consequently no minister at *Utrecht*; but the differences between her Majesty and that Prince were easily settled by the Lord LEXINGTON at *Madrid*, and the Marquis of MONTELEON here: so that upon the Duke D'OSSUNA's arrival at the congress, some days after the peace, he was ready to conclude a treaty between the Queen and his master. Neither is it probable that the *Dutch*, or any other ally, except the Emperor, will encounter any difficulties of moment, to retard their several treaties with his Catholick Majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between *Britain* and *France*, were ratified here on the seventh of *April*; on the twenty-eighth the ratifications were exchanged; and on the fifth of *May* the peace was proclaimed in the usual manner; but with louder acclamations, and more extraordinary rejoicings of the people, than had ever been remembered on the like occasion.

F I N I S,

step 1: make it a range